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ABSTRACT

This 4-day supplementary curriculum unit is designed for use in social studies classes at the upper secondary (9-12) and community college levels. The curriculum unit seeks to explore the roots of contemporary relations between the United State and Soviet Union through an examination of how that relationship evolved from the 18th century to the 1930s. Three lesson plans form the framework of the unit: (1) A historical and geographical introduction to U.S.-Russian relations; (2) The evolving complexity of U.S.-Russian/Soviet relations; and (3) Early 20th century relations. Fifteen student handouts to be used in the lesson plans are included. Five appendices also are included: (1) Related activities; (2) Connections to social science textbooks; (3) Connections to California's history/social science framework and model curriculum standards; (4) Bibliography; and (5) Educational philosophy. Connections to California's history/social science framework and model curriculum standards; (4) Bibliography; and (5) Educational philosophy. (DB)

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MAJOR CONCEPTS/EVENTS IN UNITED STATES-SOVIET UNION RELATIONS: FROM THE ORIGINS TO RECOGNITION

SO 022 390

International Security and Arms Control
Project of the Stanford Program on
International and Cross-Cultural
Education

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**MAJOR CONCEPTS/EVENTS IN
UNITED STATES - SOVIET UNION RELATIONS
FROM THE ORIGINS TO RECOGNITION**

Topic #4 in a Series of
International Security and Conflict Curricula
for Grades 9 - 12 and Community College

Developed by Robin Riddle, Carlton Hayes Tucker,
Adrian Chan and the
International Security and Arms Control (ISAAC) Project Staff,
Stanford Program on International and
Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

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The authors and the International Security and Arms Control Project are responsible for the final quality of this curriculum.

CREDITS

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Overheads #1-#4 and their answer keys were designed by Adrian Chan for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Overhead #5 was developed by Robin Riddle and Adrian Chan for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #1, *Pre-test*, and its answer key were developed by Adrian Chan and Carlton Hayes Tucker for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #2, *United States Expansion*; Handout #3, *Russian Expansion*; Handout #11, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism*, and its answer key; Handout #12, *The Soviet Union's Views of the United States*; Handout #13, *The United States' Views of the Soviet Union* and Handout #14, *Negotiation Instructions*, were written by Robin Riddle and Adrian Chan for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

We are grateful for permission by D.C. Heath and Co. to reprint Handout #4, *A President Bids Farewell*; #5, *Monroe Warns the European Powers*; and #6, *DeTocqueville Foresees Two Superpowers*.

Handout #7, *Russia and the US*, was written by Adrian Chan and George Tseo for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #8, *Key Terms*, was written by Adrian Chan for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #9, *Study Questions*, and its answer key were developed by Adrian Chan and Carlton Hayes Tucker for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #10, *Evolution Timeline*, was developed by Carlton Hayes Tucker and adapted by Adrian Chan and Robin Riddle for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Handout #15, *Monitor Assignment*, was written by Adrian Chan with the assistance of Robin Riddle for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Appendices A-E were developed by Robin Riddle for the International Security and Arms Control Project.

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL PROJECT

The International Security and Arms Control Project is a curriculum and staff development program aimed at improving the quality of elementary and secondary education about international conflict and security affairs. It is the first international issue-focused project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, complementing SPICE's four culture-based projects (Africa, China, Japan, and Latin America). The International Security and Arms Control Project utilizes the curriculum and staff development programs of the California International Studies Project (CISP).

The ISAAC Project works closely with a small group of teacher associates primarily from Northern California in developing, reviewing, testing, and evaluating curriculum materials appropriate for social studies (including history and psychology), literature, science, and economics classrooms. Strong emphasis is placed on balanced presentation, multiple perspectives, and critical thinking skills. In addition, all materials are being developed with teachers' time constraints and desire for flexibility in mind. The curricula reflect sensitivity to the problems of teaching controversial issues. (See Appendix E for further details of the curriculum development process.)

For further information regarding the curriculum and staff development activities of the International Security and Arms Control Project, contact the ISAAC Project Coordinator, c/o Institute of International Studies, Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, GSB-LC Bldg., Room 14, Stanford, CA 94305-5013.

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Topic #4:
US-SOVIET RELATIONS:
FROM THE ORIGINS TO RECOGNITION

INTRODUCTION

This four-day supplementary curriculum unit is designed for use in social studies classes at the upper secondary (9-12) and community college levels. The unit begins with students using maps to compare US and Russian periods of expansion and study some of the geographic differences of the two countries. In order to build a basic understanding of US-Soviet relations, students then read about US and Russian foreign policies. Students are particularly encouraged to examine the roots of conflict and cooperation in US-Russian/Soviet relations. Students address the intentions of US and Russian/Soviet actions, and explore the impact these actions have had on the overall character of US-Soviet relations. Students then compare and contrast capitalism, socialism, and communism as the final preparation for mock negotiations on whether the US should officially recognize the Soviet Union.

RATIONALE

The history of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union has been marked by cooperation and conflict. In order to deal with the variations in US-Soviet relations, it is sometimes helpful to see the present in the context of the past --to try to provide an evolutionary view of the relationship between the US and the Soviet Union. Both of these elements are generally not part of social studies textbooks, which sometimes simplify the relationship without explaining the historical context and the motivations, interests, and values of the two countries. This unit supplements textbooks in such a way that students not only discuss important themes in the history of US-Soviet interaction, but also come away with skills and knowledge appropriate for the study of contemporary US-Soviet relations.

GOALS

In this curriculum unit students will:

- o examine how the relationship between the United States and Russia/the Soviet Union evolved from the 18th century to the 1930s.
- o recognize that the character of US-Russian/Soviet relations has fluctuated over time
- o appreciate that understanding the historical context of US-

Russian/Soviet relations is essential to understanding present and future relations

- o examine the factors which have influenced the character of US-Soviet relations
- o discuss the geographic, political, and economic differences between the US and the Soviet Union
- o gain a basic understanding of capitalism, socialism, and communism
- o recognize that negotiations are one form of conflict management and resolution

SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES

Day #1: In class

A Historical, Geographical, and Statistical Introduction To US-USSR Relations: In class, the students will first establish their own knowledge of the history of US-Russian/Soviet relations through a pre-test. After completing brief readings on US and Russian expansion, they will examine and analyze a series of maps on the US and Russia. These will explain various historical events and their geo-political significance.

Day #1: Homework

Students will read Handout #4, *A President Bids Farewell*; #5, *Monroe Warns the European Powers*; #6, *DeTocqueville Foresees Two Superpowers*; and #7, *Russia and America in the 19th Century*. Handout #8, *Key Terms*, provides definitions of key vocabulary terms. Students are not required to write out their answers to Handout #9, *Study Questions*.

Day #2: In class:

The Evolving Complexity of US-Russian Relations: Students will have read a set of readings for homework on the relationship between the US and Russia in the 19th century. The readings are meant to introduce the students to basic similarities and differences between the two nations. They will be introduced to four categories of international relations (friendly, unfriendly, cooperative and conflictual). Through a small group exercise students are given the chance to apply these terms to the readings already assigned. Students classify events listed on Handout #10, *Evolution Timeline*, in class.

Day #2: Homework

Students will read Handout #11, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism*, and consider the differences between the three economic theories. Study questions are provided.

Day #3: In class

Early 20th Century Relations: Students will be introduced to capitalist, socialist, and communist economic theories, and given the chance to discuss them. Students will also prepare for the mock negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union (early 1920s) on day four.

Day #3: Homework

Half the class will read Handout #12, *The Soviet Union's Views of the United States*, the other half will read Handout #13, *The United States' Views of the Soviet Union*. Students should prepare for the negotiation exercise by reflecting on the history of US-Russian/Soviet relations.

Day #4: In class

Negotiation Exercise: Students will conduct and then evaluate mock negotiations on the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union. A discussion of the simulation aims at increasing the students' appreciation for the complexity of foreign policy-making. The outcome of the in-class activity will be compared with the outcome of actual negotiations which took place in 1933. Finally students will be evaluated based on a post-test the same as the pre-test.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The following key terms and concepts are boldfaced the first time they appear in the unit: Alliance, annexation, buffer zone, capitalism, communism, conflict, conflictual, cooperation, cooperative, diplomacy, foreign policy, manifest destiny, recognition, Russian Revolution, security, and socialism.

ADAPTATION

Appendices A, B, C, D, and E will be useful to teachers who want to adapt (change or expand) this curriculum unit. Appendix A provides a list of related activities for social studies classrooms. Appendix B provides ideas for using this supplementary unit in conjunction with social studies textbooks. Appendix C demonstrates how this unit supports California's Frameworks and Model Curriculum Standards for History/Social

Science. Appendix D provides a bibliography of related classroom and reference materials. Appendix E describes the educational philosophy of the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Each of the four lessons can be utilized separately in the classroom. In order to maintain the conceptual integrity of the unit, however, we encourage teachers to use the entire curriculum unit as a whole.

Also, while the emphasis may be on political ties between the US and the USSR, it should be noted that there have been and continue to be other types of relations (cultural, religious, economic, intellectual, artistic, technological) also. These too have their own characteristics which, in addition to affecting and being influenced by the political realm, are sometimes independent of it. Further activities dealing with non-political interactions are suggested in appendix A.

NOTES

This unit isolates US-Russian/Soviet relations from relations each of these countries had with other parts of the world. This approach has the advantage of allowing students to focus on the factors particular to US-Russian/Soviet relations. Presenting history in this manner also makes it more manageable.

Since this unit covers the 19th and 20th centuries, the name "Russia" is used to designate the country before the 1917 revolution while the name "Soviet Union" is used to designate the country after 1917 (though the term was not adopted officially until later). Where the differentiation is unclear, "Soviet Union" will be used.

**HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION TO
US-RUSSIAN RELATIONS
Lesson One**

Introduction

This first lesson places US-Russian relations in geographical and historical contexts. Students will begin by taking a pre-test on US-Soviet relations, which will provide a basis for later evaluation. A map activity then introduces students to US and Russian expansion. Discussion questions ask them to compare and contrast the experiences each nation had with rival powers and populations, with territorial security, with conflict and with cooperation. Students are encouraged to differentiate between the United States and Russia, while at the same time identifying their similarities. This lesson will help students establish a context with which they can discuss present and future US-Soviet relations.

Objectives

In this lesson, students will:

- o assess their knowledge of US-Soviet relations by taking a pre-test
- o compare US and Russian expansion prior to the 20th century
- o assess the similarities and differences between US and Russian expansion
- o obtain an introductory understanding of territorial security

Materials

- one copy per student of Handout #1: *Pre-test: US-Soviet relations*
- one copy for four students of Handout #2: *United States Expansion prior to the 20th century*
- one copy for all but four students of Handout #3: *Russian Expansion prior to the 20th century*
- overhead projector, screen, and transparency pens
- transparencies of Overheads #1-#4 and their answer keys
- one copy per student of Handout #4: *A President Bids Farewell* (homework for Lesson Two)

- one copy per student of Handout #5: *Monroe Warns the European Powers* (homework for Lesson Two)
- one copy per student of Handout #6: *DeTocqueville Foresees Two Superpowers* (homework for Lesson Two)
- one copy per student of Handout #7: *Russia and the United States in the 19th Century* (homework for Lesson Two)
- one copy per student of Handout #8: *Study Questions* (homework for Lesson Two)

Procedures: Day 1

Pre-test: 10 minutes

1. Announce that for the next four days the class will be examining major concepts and events in US-Soviet relations from the origins to the official recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933.
2. Distribute Handout #1, *Pre-test* to students. Allow the students 10 minutes to complete Handout #1 in class.
3. Collect the pre-tests without reviewing the answers. Tell students that they will take the pre-test again on Day 4. They will then grade both tests at the same time and compare the two scores with each other. Make sure students have written their names on their completed pre-tests. The pre-test should give students some sense of what is to be studied.

Geographic Context: 25 minutes

1. Assign a few students to read Handout #2, *United States Expansion Prior to the 20th Century*, and the other students to read Handout #3, *Russian Expansion Prior to the 20th Century*.
Note: We assume that most students are familiar with US expansion. This is why we have only assigned a few students to this reading. If your class is different, you may want to adjust the assignment.
2. When students have finished reading, display Overhead #1, *United States Expansion Prior to the 20th Century*. Ask students (calling first on those who read Handout #2) to point out the following on the overhead:
 - o the area which would have been referred to as the American West in the early 19th century
 - o the area of the Louisiana Purchase
 - o the area of the 13 colonies

- o the approximate location of Russian settlements
- o Alaska
- o Oregon country
- o the area of the Texas annexation
- o the area of the Florida acquisition

Display Overhead #1, *Answer Key* for answers or write in the answers by hand.

Note that because one of the homework readings for Day 1 concerns the Monroe Doctrine, it will be discussed more fully on Day 2.

Ask students the following questions:

- o Why was the US interested in New Orleans? Why might the US have been worried by France actually occupying the port of New Orleans? (Possible answer: As a sea port, New Orleans was a door to the Atlantic from the Mississippi river. Had the French taken over the port city, they would not only have had a strategic position from which they could have at least threatened the US. Recall Jefferson's quote in Handout #2.)
- o Do you think the US should have gone to war with Britain and tried to claim all of Oregon up to Russia's Alaska? Remember that in 1845, war with Mexico seemed near. (Possible answer: War with Britain and Mexico at the same time might have had grave results for the US. Most governments try not to become involved in more than one war at a time, and war is usually considered a last resort, to be used only when diplomacy fails.)

3. Display Overhead #2, *Russian Expansion Prior to the 20th Century*. Ask students (calling first on those who read Handout #3) to point out some of the following on the overhead.

- o Moscow
- o the annexation of Finland
- o the annexation of Poland
- o Sweden
- o the Black Sea
- o Crimea
- o Sakhalin Island
- o the Kurile Islands
- o Vladivostok
- o Alaska

Lay Overhead #2, *Answer Key* on top of Overhead #2 for answers.

4. Remove Overhead #2, *Answer Key*, and display Overhead #3, *Dates of Expansion* on top of Overhead #2. The teacher may want to draw arrows on the transparency to show the directions of Russian expansion. Tell students that there were further territorial changes in the 20th century which are not indicated on the overhead.
5. Remove Overhead #3 and ask students to point out some of the following countries on Overhead #2.

- o Ottoman Empire
- o Turkey
- o Iran (previously Persia)
- o China
- o Japan
- o North and South Korea
- o Manchuria
- o Poland (note that the country of Poland differs from the kingdom of Poland)

Lay Overhead #4, *Neighboring Countries* on top of Overhead #3 for answers. Some additional countries are listed to complete the Soviet Union's borders.

Ask students the following:

- o What were the importance of the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and Vladivostok to Russia? (Possible answer: Much of Russia's expansion was driven by the need of ice-free sea ports for trade and military purposes. The Black Sea and the Mediterranean would have been ice-free all year round. Vladivostok, though it is frozen during the winter, is strategically positioned on the Pacific.)
- o What happened to Poland between 1773 and 1831? (Possible answer: Between 1773 and 1807 Poland was divided between Austria, France, Prussia and Russia four times. It was incorporated into the Russian empire in 1831, thereby losing its provisional freedom as an autonomous kingdom and protectorate.
- o Why might Russia have wanted to govern France and Poland? Keep in mind that the threat from invasion was deeply felt by Russian Czars. (Possible answer: Both France and Poland could act as a sort of buffer zone for Russia by discouraging neighbors from attack. A buffer zone is a strip of land--it may also be an entire country--which protects a neighboring country by adding distance between potential rivals. The presence of one of Russia's rivals in France and Poland would have put Russia at a greater risk from invasion. This works in the other direction

also. Russia's presence in France and Poland alarmed western European powers.)

Discussion: 15 minutes

1. Ask students the questions below. They are intended to help students think about Russia and the US comparatively. It should be noted that the answers given are only some of the many possible answers.
 - o In what ways were Russian and US expansion similar? In particular, what were Russian and US explorers looking for? (Possible answer: The Russian exploration of Siberia may be compared to exploration of the American West. In both cases explorers were looking for wealth, and both the US and Russia found it in the fur trade.)
 - o What was different in the way Russia and the US approached the native populations they encountered? (Possible answer: As with many cases of exploration and pioneering, government support for the extension of Russian and US frontiers gave rise to numerous conflicts with native peoples. The American Indians and Mexicans were exiled by government-supported US pioneers. In most cases they died in large numbers as a result of disease and war. Russian expansion was felt by native peoples even as late as 1940. This sometimes resulted in direct war or the exile of local inhabitants. Some fled to neighboring countries. In many cases, however, native populations remained where they were and willingly or unwillingly acceded to the new Russian rulership. Finland and Poland are good examples of this.)
 - o What differed in the ways Russia and the US annexed and settled new territories? (Possible answer: The exploration of the western US frontier tended to bring a movement of US settlers with it. The lands west of the original colonies were settled in this way. Although many of these settlers were of different nationalities, they came from overseas and did not already live in the US. The Russian experience with annexation differed in that foreign peoples were often ruled by Russia without the actual settlement by Russians. For this reason the modern Soviet Union is composed of many different, and sometimes conflictual, nationalities. Unlike the population of the US, these different nationalities were not settlers, but original inhabitants.)
 - o Both Russia and the US became involved in wars during their periods of expansion. In what ways did they fight

different kinds of wars? (Possible answer: During the 18th and early 19th centuries, the US had to compete with the French, British, Spanish, and to some extent the Russians for its expansion into the west. The Mexican-American War was an example of this competition. Many battles were also fought with Native American Indians. The people in the US, however, saw fewer wars than Russians. One reason for this might have been that the foreign powers with which the US had to compete were based in Europe. In order to war with the US for western territories, Europeans would have had to mount large and costly war efforts far from home. The Atlantic would have separated them from their territorial gains even further.

Russian expansion was characterized by a struggle with constantly changing enemy forces. The Russians had to defeat some of their neighbors in war before annexing them, and were constantly battling rebels, traders, and foreign armies who sought the control of the same territories. In addition, Russian expansion began in the late 15th century and continued for 450 years. Scores of wars with Chinese, Japanese, French, Turks, Persians, and others were fought during these years.)

- o Russia has traditionally shared its borders with many more countries than the US. How have borders shaped the perceptions each nation had of its security? (Possible answer: As the US expanded, its potentially dangerous borders became fewer in number. In the late 19th century only the British to the north and the Mexicans to the south remained. Mexico was a relatively weak nation militarily, and relations between the US and Britain were reasonably good. For this reason the United States rarely considers itself in danger of invasion, and is on friendly terms with its neighbors to the north and the south.

Russia has shared its borders with Finland, Poland, Turkey, Persia, and China, all of which have come into conflict with Russia at one time or another. The flat terrain in western Russia increases its vulnerability to invasion or attack. Because the European powers which the Soviet Union battled during its expansion are still its neighbors, the Soviet Union today shares its borders with many more countries than the US. Some of these are communist like the Soviet Union. Others (Finland, Turkey, Iran) are not. Although the Soviet Union has avoided direct war with most of its neighbors, and is allied to some of them, its vulnerability to attack and invasion persist in Soviet military thinking. The rationale behind Russian expansion was sometimes governed by a strategic concern for security. Russia has tried to keep its western neighbors either under its control or on

good terms with it. In this way Russia does not have to be as concerned about invasion from the west. Poland and Finland are two examples of territories which served to keep a distance between Russia and her potential enemies.)

- o What do you think were the rationales, or motives, for US and Russian expansion? (Possible answer: Much of the United States' expansion was guided by the conviction that ultimately the land between the two coasts would belong to one US nation. This "manifest destiny" strengthened American resolve to settle and cultivate the western territories. With its ethnic diversity and poor internal communication, the young Russian empire did not command the same ideological power that was so important for "manifest destiny." But the increase of trade was central to Russian expansion. More ice-free ports would have allowed Russia greater freedom to trade with other countries around the world and to have greater flexibility in deploying its naval fleets. Both Vladivostok and the Black Sea appealed to Russian explorers for this reason.)

Homework

1. Distribute Handout #4, *A President Bids Farewell*, Handout #5, *Monroe Warns the European Powers*, Handout #6, *DeTocqueville Foresees Two Superpowers*, Handout #7, *Russia and America in the 19th Century*, and Handout #8, *Study Questions* to students. The study questions are intended as reading guides, and do not have to be returned with answers. Students should read all of the handouts for Day 2.
2. Tell students that they will be divided into groups of four on Day 2. They will then work in their groups to answer the *Study Questions*.

PRE-TEST: US - SOVIET RELATIONS

Answer the following questions, indicating your answers with true (T) or false (F).

- () 1. Both the US and the Soviet Union are about 200 years old.
- () 2. The need of sea ports was a factor common to Russian and US expansion.
- () 3. The fear of invasion by neighboring countries has been a greater concern in Russia and the Soviet Union than in the US.
- () 4. Russia once owned and colonized the Alaskan territory.
- () 5. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was originally applied to Russian presence in North America.
- () 6. The US gained Alaska after defeating Russia in a naval battle.
- () 7. Serfs were emancipated in Russia before slaves were emancipated in the US.
- () 8. Both Russia and the US fought in the Napoleonic Wars.
- () 9. Russia and the US were allies for a short period during World War I.
- () 10. Both the US and the Soviet Union were formed through revolution.
- () 11. The US was sympathetic to the Russian Revolution and the new Soviet government.
- () 12. The US granted immediate diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union after the Russian Revolution of 1917.
- () 13. The US has offered foreign aid to the Soviet Union a number of times.
- () 14. US troops clashed with the Red Army of the new Soviet government in the Russian Civil War (1918).
- () 15. During some periods in US domestic history the US government harassed some of its citizens said to be communists.
- () 16. The Soviet Union has supported groups which aim to overthrow the US government.
- () 17. The US and Soviet Union were close allies after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and during the 1920s.
- () 18. The US and the Soviet Union have similar governments.
- () 19. The US and the Soviet Union have similar economic systems.

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HANDOUT #1: ANSWER KEY

PRE-TEST: US - SOVIET RELATIONS

- (F) 1. Both the US and the Soviet Union are about 200 years old.
- (T) 2. The need of sea ports was a factor common to Russian and US expansion.
- (T) 3. The fear of invasion by neighboring countries has been a greater concern in Russia and the Soviet Union than in the US.
- (T) 4. Russia once owned and colonized the Alaskan territory.
- (T) 5. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was originally applied to Russian presence in North America.
- (F) 6. The US gained Alaska after defeating Russia in a naval battle.
- (T) 7. Serfs were emancipated in Russia before slaves were emancipated in the US.
- (F) 8. Both Russia and the US fought in the Napoleonic Wars.
- (T) 9. Russia and the US were allies for a short period during World War I.
- (T) 10. Both the US and the Soviet Union were formed through revolution.
- (F) 11. The US was sympathetic to the Russian Revolution and the new Soviet government.
- (F) 12. The US granted immediate diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union after the Russian Revolution in 1917.
- (T) 13. The US has offered foreign aid to the Soviet Union a number of times.
- (T) 14. US troops clashed with the Red Army of the new Soviet government in the Russian Civil War (1918).
- (T) 15. During some periods in US domestic history the US government harassed some of its citizens said to be communists.
- (T) 16. The Soviet Union has supported groups which aim to overthrow the US government.
- (F) 17. The US and Soviet Union were close allies after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and during the 1920s.
- (F) 18. The US and the Soviet Union have similar governments.
- (F) 19. The US and the Soviet Union have similar economic systems.

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UNITED STATES EXPANSION PRIOR TO THE 20TH CENTURY

The growth of the United States during the 18th and 19th centuries was unique in many respects. The thirteen young colonies which comprised this nation were expanding in many different directions, and at a speed which startled much of the world. Nonetheless, territorial expansion was not to occur without its challenges.

Louisiana Territory

Thomas Jefferson, the US President from 1801-1809, strongly believed that westward expansion would require the US to control the Louisiana territory. New Orleans, part of the expansive Louisiana territory which had been transferred by the Spanish to the French in 1800, had not yet been occupied by the French. The port of New Orleans was a key trading port: located right on the Gulf of Mexico, it was the last stop for merchants travelling down the Mississippi River on their way to the Atlantic. Although Jefferson disliked the British, he thought so highly of New Orleans that in 1802 he suggested that the "day that France takes possession of New Orleans...we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Willing to pay up to \$7.5 million for New Orleans alone, the US was taken by surprise at the French offer in 1803 to sell the entire Louisiana territory for \$12 million. In this single purchase, the US would gain an expanse of territory larger than the existing thirteen colonies!

Issues in Western Expansion

By 1840 much of the US east of the Mississippi River had been settled. Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin attracted adventurous farmers, and a substantial transportation network of canals, steamboats, roads, and sometimes railroads took settlers west and brought the crops east.

The west beckoned to many settlers. US explorers had found two quick sources of income in the west. Furs, which had been discovered through trade with Native American Indians, soon attracted US trappers and hunters. Gold, too, proved to be a surprise fortune. The famous gold rush of 1849 later gave birth to scores of new communities.

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The new frontier was the American west, and it was there that many urgent decisions were being faced. The western frontiers were not yet secure, and England, France, and to some extent Russia were all anxious to compete for the western territories. Before any of these territories were to be settled, there was the matter of how to deal with their present inhabitants.

Prior to the movement westward by settlers, the US had adopted a policy of coexistence (which had been based on trade and mutual respect) with Native American Indians. By the time Andrew Jackson became president in 1829, this practice was drawing to a close. The 1830s witnessed what was later termed the "trail of tears": a mass exodus and forced relocation of Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River. Hunger, disease, and battle skirmishes reduced the numbers of Cherokee Indians alone by one-fourth, and a similar fate was to face many other Native Americans on the path westward. Although exact numbers will never be known, some experts estimate that well over 10 million Native American Indians died during the program of relocation. Westward expansion occurred as quickly as it did partly because Native Indian and Mexican opposition was militarily ill-equipped and disorganized.

Slavery was another troubling issue central to expansion. By the 1840s, slavery was not only a political theme in the north and south, but also in the west. There had been a number of attempts, such as the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 and the Missouri Compromise of 1847, to prohibit slavery in the western territories. These attempts disturbed settlers in Oregon, California, New Mexico, and Utah. The debate over slavery intensified, thus laying the foundations for the Civil War of (1861-65).

Manifest Destiny

The settlement of the West was supported by a strong national sentiment known then as "manifest destiny." This was the belief that the US would soon be a great and expansive nation. "Manifest destiny" was strengthened by the faith that American democracy and democratic values could civilize and transform the wilderness of the West. Americans were also afraid of the presence of foreign (mostly European) powers surrounding them. Knowing that the British in particular were anxious to move southwest from their positions north of the Oregon country, US expansionists felt this as an element of competition. (Russia, too, had expressed an interest in annexing California.) The sense of purpose ("manifest destiny") and competition with the British, Mexicans, and Russians combined to accelerate the massive expansion of US territory.

Florida

Long before becoming a state (in 1845), Florida was recognized for its strategic and agricultural importance. Mostly by military force, the US captured parts of Florida from the Spanish between 1810 and 1817. In 1819 the Spanish gave up their claims to Florida, and a treaty ratified in 1821 transferred the land completely to the US. With the acquisition of Florida the eastern borders of the US were established, and expansion followed a westward course.

The Northwest

Britain was not the only foreign presence in the pacific northwest region. The US and Russia were also impressed by the land and coastline they had found along California and Oregon. As early as 1823 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had warned Czar Alexander I of Russia to keep north of the 54th parallel (the southern border of Alaska). (There were rumors in Washington that Russia told Mexico it was interested in possibly annexing California.) Russian fur-traders, who had established settlements as far south as the San Francisco Bay, gave up their settlements along the coast of California soon after the warning. In 1824 Russia agreed to the 54th parallel as the border between Oregon and Alaska.

The Hudson's Bay Company of Britain, which was expanding south and west into Oregon country during the 1820s and 1830s, worried US expansionists. Although there had been no agreement between the US and Britain on the northern border of Oregon, some Americans were set on extending their position as far north as Alaska (the 54° 40' parallel). US President James Polk made their claims popular, and the slogan "54 40 or fight!" was heard from his supporters. In 1846 when war with Mexico seemed likely, President Polk chose to compromise with the British rather than risk becoming involved in two separate wars. A border at the 49th parallel was agreed upon. Expansion into the northwest was completed when Russia, no longer interested in keeping its fur trade in Alaska, sold the territory to the US for \$7.2 million in 1867.

The Monroe Doctrine

In 1823, following the warning of Russia regarding their presence in California and the northwest, the US declared the famous Monroe Doctrine. Its essential message to European governments was that the US considered itself "off-limits" to further exploration and colonization. It was also used to extend informal US influence in Latin America. In exchange, President James Monroe offered not to interfere in European affairs.

Mexican-American War

In 1846 the Mexican-American War erupted over the Republic of Texas. Mexico had originally invited US settlers to Texas, offering them plots of land, on the condition that they become Mexicans. Texas declared itself an independent republic in 1836, and rejected Mexico's claims to citizenship. Neither the US, Texas, nor Mexico agreed on the actual border between Texas and Mexico. President Polk saw the rise of tension between Texas and Mexico as an opportunity to annex Texas (at the time when he was also trying to settle the Oregon question). A border incident quickly generated a US declaration of war on Mexico. Mexico's forces were disorganized, and the war was short.

In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) Mexico ceded the territories of New Mexico and California to the US, and recognized the Rio Grande River as the border of Texas. The Gadsden Purchase (1853) gave the US the land it needed for an important railroad, and completed the southern boundaries of the continental US.

The Last Frontier

The 19th century was not to close without a brief revival of "manifest destiny." The US had strong commercial interests in the Pacific, Caribbean, and Far East, and was interested in maintaining some influence over the governments of Nicaragua, Panama, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, among others. There was much talk about making some of these islands US states. The century came to a close focused on the Pacific, and in 1898 the Hawaiian Islands were annexed by the United States.

Vocabulary:

annex: to join or unite another country or territory to a country or kingdom.



RUSSIAN EXPANSION PRIOR TO THE 20TH CENTURY

At the beginning of the 14th century, the ancestors of the modern Russian people occupied a small state centered around Moscow stretching about 300 miles from east to west and about 75 miles from north to south. Called Muscovy, it grew through a series of wars with its neighbors. Over a period of roughly 600 years, this restless country fought wars on its western frontier with Poles, Lithuanians, Persians, Ukrainians, and Swedes, to name but a few.

Attracted to the fur trade, Russia's largest source of income during the 16th and 17th centuries, explorers pushed north and east into Siberia. The Russian rulers were quick to realize that Siberia would also add to their security from potential rivals in east Asia. By the end of the 16th century, Russia stretched from the Dnieper River in the west to the Ural Mountains and beyond--more than 700 miles into western Siberia--in the east, from the Caucasus Mountains in the south to Scandinavia and the Arctic coast in the north. In 1696 Peter I founded the Russian Empire. Eager to modernize Russia by exposing it to European ideas and technologies, Peter I began a half century of westward expansion. Emperess Catherine II (the Great), who ruled from 1762-1796, continued this tradition of expansion. She successfully secured her nation as one of the five great powers in Europe (along with France, Britain, Prussia, and Austria).

Issues in Russian Expansion

Russian expansion, which began in the direction of Siberia, was driven by the search for furs. As the years wore on, Russian explorers confronted more and more native populations. These people were either exiled or incorporated into the Russian Empire. An unknown number of people died at the hands of aggressive Russian explorers. In this way many of the people who came to live in the Russian empire were not actually Russians. They had different ethnic backgrounds, and had often resisted Russian rule.

Just as the Russian empire warred with many non-Russian populations during the course of its expansion, Russia was itself afraid of aggression by foreigners. Because its western terrain was so flat, and it shared its borders with so many neighbors, Russia was frequently invaded. And because of its size, Russia

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had a poorly developed communication network. This meant that it was unable to respond quickly to any surprise attacks. (The vulnerability of Russia's western border continues to be an important factor in the making of its military policy.)

Alaska

Still in search of furs, Russian explorers moved into Alaska and other parts of northwest North America, and beginning in 1799, established a monopoly on fur trade in Alaska. Eventually, Russian settlements reached as far south as northern California. Russian presence in North America created some friction with Spain, Britain, and the US. With declining revenues from the sales of furs, Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867 for \$7.2 million. By the late 19th century, the Russian Empire covered roughly the same area as the present-day Soviet Union.

Finland

In 1809 Russia attacked Sweden and annexed Finland. This was to be one of the largest territorial acquisitions for 19th century Russia. Finland was given the official title of "Protectorate," which meant that the Finnish government had some independence from Russia. By keeping control of Finland, Russia was more secure from possible aggression by countries to the west. Finland separated Russia from Sweden, a rival power, thereby making a Swedish surprise attack more difficult.

The Napoleonic Wars

The Napoleonic Wars initiated by Emperor Napoleon of France in 1812 were a painful reminder to Russia that its western borders were easily crossed. Even though Napoleon was forced to retreat from Russia in 1812, he had been able to bring his armies all the way to Moscow. The retreating Russians employed a "scorched-earth" tactic whereby they burned their towns and fields so that there would be little food for the advancing French army. Napoleon spent five weeks in Moscow awaiting Russian surrender in vain, and his retreat to western Europe not only left Moscow in flames, but cost him over a half million dead in a bitter and hungry winter. Russia lost 200,000 people.

Poland

Throughout the late 1700s Poland continued to be a center of territorial dispute for the European powers. Russia was responsible for dividing Poland three times between 1772 and 1795. These partitions were carried out with the aim of bringing the Poles under Russian rule. In 1807, Emperor Napoleon of France established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in the Prussian and

Austrian parts of Poland. Alexander I feared French interference in Poland. It was crucial to him that Poland remain in favor of Russia, and not in the hands of the French.

When in 1812 Napoleon was unable to conquer Russia during the Napoleonic Wars, Russia annexed the Grand Duchy of Poland, thus dividing Poland for the fourth time. This brought all of Poland into the Russian Empire, extending Russia's western borders and adding 3 million people to its population. Until 1831 Poland was maintained by Russia as an independent kingdom, much like Finland. When revolutionary movements (which had been troubling the French, Austrian, and Prussian monarchies in the 1830s), threatened to spread from Poland to Russia, Czar Nicholas I of Russia became worried. Russia's oppressive social class system made it an easy target for revolution, and the fact that many of its citizens were non-Russians made it even more unstable. In 1831, after a brief war between Polish revolutionaries and Russian troops, Russia incorporated Poland into the Russian Empire.

The Crimean War

In 1853, when Russia attempted to gain access to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, Russia was pitted against France, Britain and Turkey (then the Ottoman Empire) in the Crimean War. With this the alliance system came to an end. In 1855 the war ended, and Russia's position of power and some of its territory were also lost. Securing access to the Black Sea would have been a significant achievement, as it would have given Russia the year-round ice-free port it badly needed for international trade.

Eastward Expansion

Russia's expansion to the east was driven by the need of access to the Pacific. Throughout the 18th century Russia had maintained reasonably good relations with China. When China lost in wars with the British in 1839 and 1842, Russia began to explore the east Siberian coastline, very close to China. After China lost again to the British and French in 1856, Russia claimed rights to Chinese territory north of the river Amur. The Chinese, too weak to go to war, gave it up in 1857. Vladivostok, a Russian port city still important today, was later built on this new coastal frontier. In 1895, 1896, and 1898, Russia secured further gains along the coast in secret treaties with China. One of these was Port Arthur, which was free of ice all year round.

As late as the 1860s the island of Sakhalin in the Pacific remained in dual Russian and Japanese possession. In 1895 the

Japanese gave full control of Sakhalin to Russia; Russia in turn released its claims to the Kurile Islands.

Vocabulary:

grand duchy: the territory ruled by a grand duke or a grand duchess.

protectorate: the relation of a strong state to a smaller or weaker state under its control or protection.

MAP OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION



United States Expansion Prior to the 20th Century



• Russian settlement

CANADA

Oregon Territory
1846

1818

Louisiana Purchase
1803

Russian settlements

Mexican Cession
1848

Washington

Thirteen Colonies

1783

Texas Annexation
1845

Gadsden
Purchase
1853

Alaska
1867

• New Orleans

Florida Acquisition
1819

— Hawaiian islands
1898

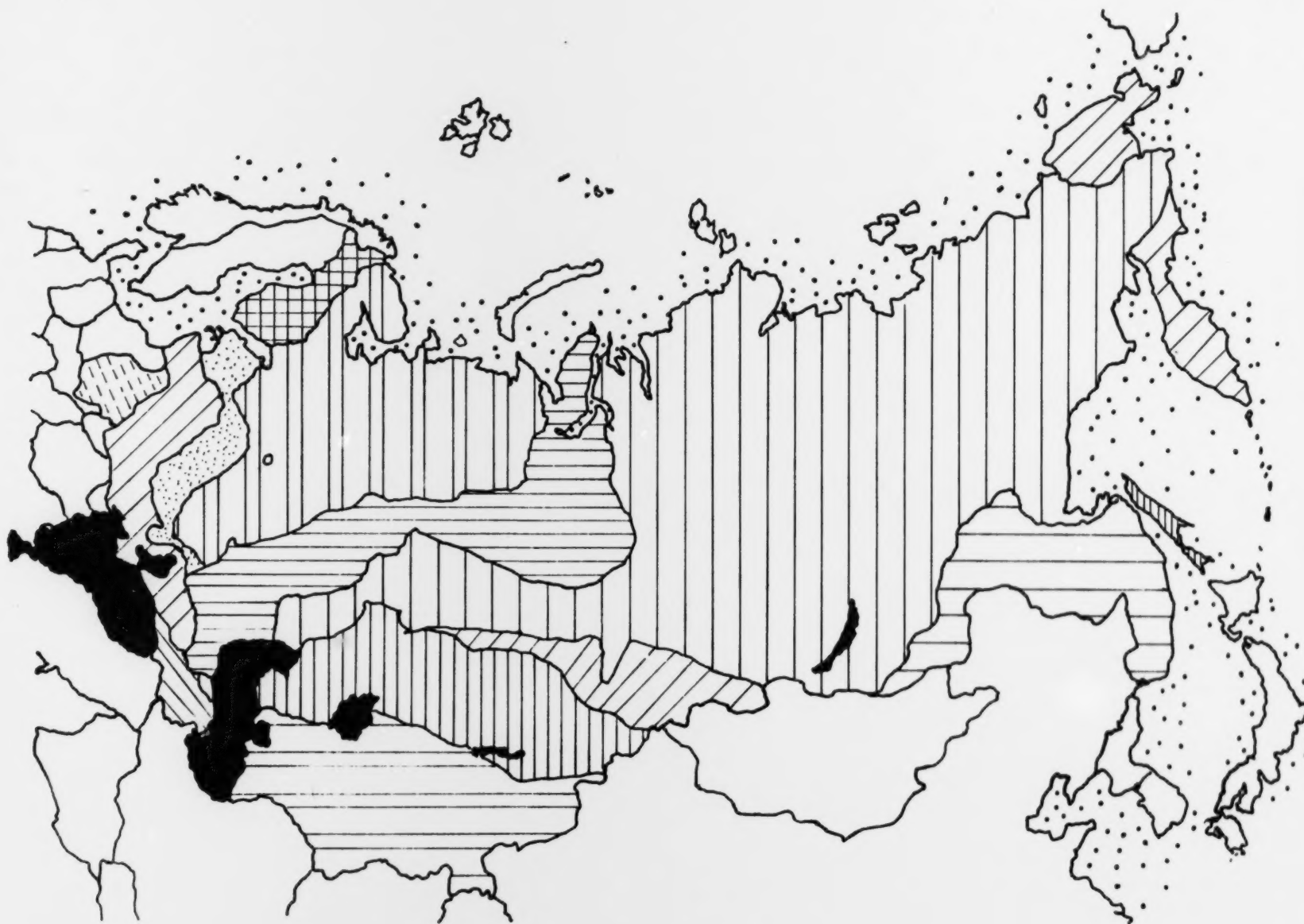
MEXICO

Russian settlements

Overhead #1: Answer Key

Russian Expansion Prior to the 20th Century

Overhead #2



25

36

37

1784-1867

1809

1801

1689

1801

1795 \

-1648

1801

1763

1533

1875 /

1598

1801-1900

1689

1878—

1855

1801

1860

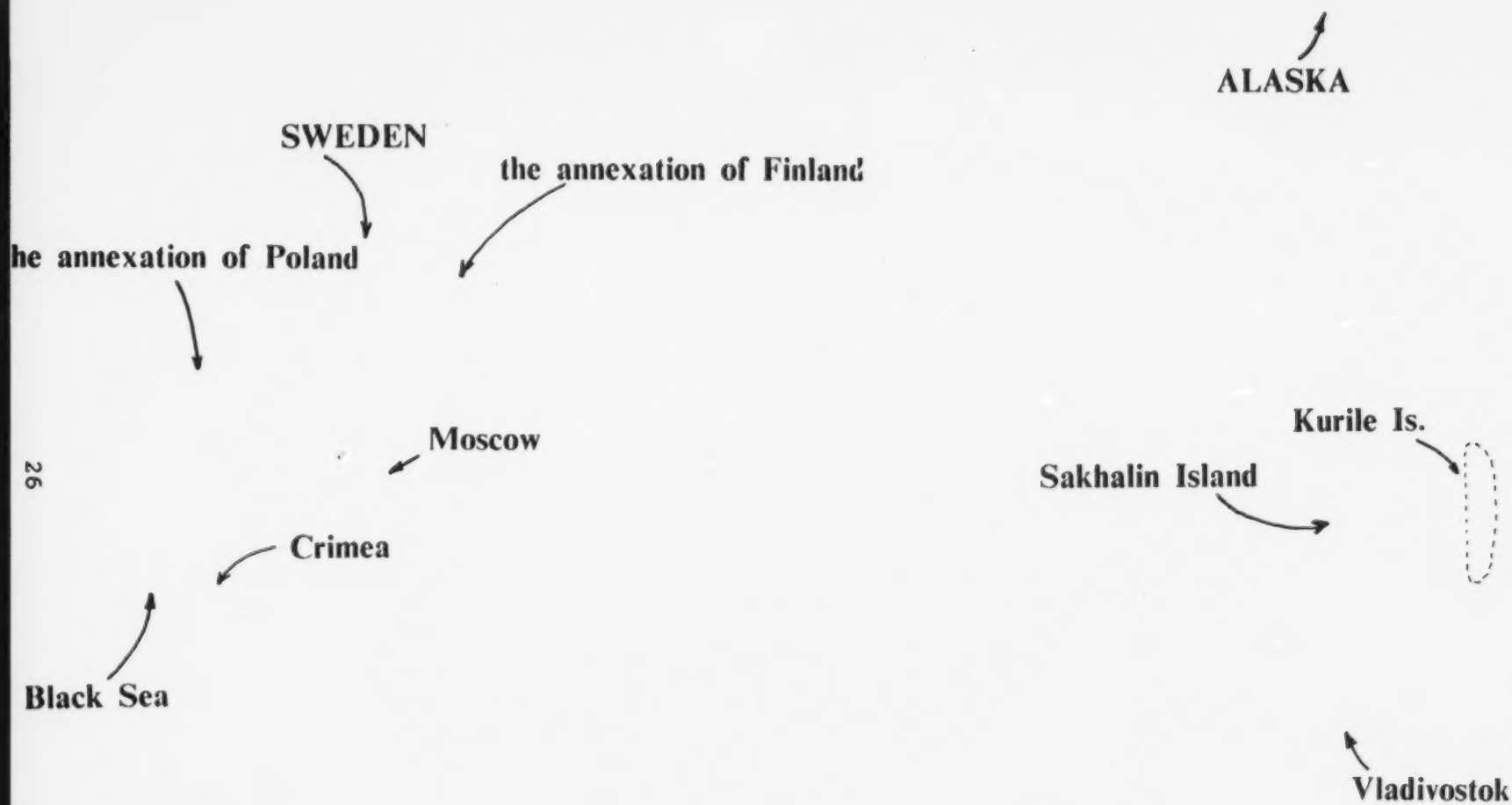
1904

39

38

27

Overhead #3



26

40

11

NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Baltic Sea
F.R.G.
G.D.R.
AUS.
CZECH.
HUN.
POLAND
ROMANIA
BUL.

28

TURKEY

SYRIA

IRAQ

IRAN

AFGHANISTAN

CHINA

MONGOLIA

CHINA

N. KOREA

S. KOREA

JAPAN

A PRESIDENT BIDS FAREWELL

Excerpts from George Washington's Farewell Address (1796)

[Editor's Introduction: Weary...and outraged by political abuse, (US President) Washington announced his decision to retire in his Farewell Address, which he simply gave as a free "scoop" to a Philadelphia newspaper... The bulk of the address deals with domestic affairs, but the part relating to foreign affairs is best known. The document was clearly partisan. It served as the opening gun in the forthcoming presidential campaign of 1796 by indirectly defending Jay's Treaty... (The Jay Treaty sought to define a neutral position towards France and Britain in order to avoid aggravation of the US-British relationship.) Many Jeffersonian Republicans, recognizing the attack on them, condemned the document.]

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence...

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest...

The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject...

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification...

The text and introduction are excerpted from The American Spirit, Vol. 1, Thomas Bailey, 1978. D.C. Heath & Co., Lexington, MA.

Why forgo the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it. For let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preference;... constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

Vocabulary (see Handout #8 for definitions):

amicable; animosity; benevolence, caprice; disinterest;
enlightened; enmity; facilitate; infidelity; ingratitude;
intercourse; inveterate; magnanimous; nominal; propensity;
reproach.

MONROE WARNS THE EUROPEAN POWERS

Excerpts from a speech by James Monroe (1823)

[Editor's Introduction: The President's annual message to Congress, quite surprisingly, contained several emphatic warnings. The Russians, who had caused some alarm by their push toward California, had privately shown a willingness to retreat to the southern bounds of present Alaska. But Monroe warned them and the other powers that there was now a 'closed season' on colonizing in the Americas. On the other hand, the heroic struggle of the Greeks for independence from the Turks was creating some agitation (in the US) for intervention, but Monroe made his "you stay out" warning seem fairer by volunteering a "we'll stay out" pledge...]

In the discussions to which this interest [Russia's interest in California and the northwest] has given rise, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for the future colonization by any European powers...

The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different...from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their...[monarchical] governments; and to the defense of our own...[to which] this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments [of Spanish America] who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States...

Text and introduction excerpted from The American Spirit, Vol. 1, Thomas Bailey, 1978. D.C. Heath & Co. Lexington, MA.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

But in regard to those [American] continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness. Nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.

Vocabulary (see Handout #8 for definitions):

Allied Powers; candor; colonization; *de facto*; disposition; eminently; emphatic; interposition; manifestation; monarchical; oppression.

DE TOCQUEVILLE FORESEES TWO SUPERPOWERS

Excerpts from Democracy in America by Alexis DeTocqueville (1835)

[Editor's Introduction: The brilliantly perceptive young French politician and writer Alexis de Tocqueville had toured...America in 1831-1832. The population had barely passed the 13,000,000 mark, and there were only twenty-four states. Yet he made the following fantastic prediction. Evaluate his analysis of Tsarist Russia and republican America and determine to what extent his diagnosis holds water today.]

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and speed along a path to which no limit can be perceived.

The American struggles against the obstacles which nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the ploughshare; those of the Russian by the sword.

The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

Text and introduction are taken from The American Spirit, Vol. 1, Thomas Bailey, 1978. D.C. Heath & Co., Lexington, MA.

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

US-Russian relations officially began in 1809, when John Quincy Adams became the first US ambassador in Moscow. This was 26 years after the first US mission to Russia had failed to achieve diplomatic recognition from Russia. (Fifteen-year-old Adams served as secretary and translator on this mission.) Since that mission Czar Alexander I had come to power with a strong interest in beginning a friendship with the US. The US government welcomed this move, though the public adopted a strange view of Russia. They were repulsed by its brutality and backwardness on the one hand, and fascinated by its aristocratic ceremonies on the other. The Russians, meanwhile, knew virtually nothing of the Czar's goodwill towards the United States. When Nicholas I succeeded Alexander I in 1825, the friendship deteriorated over the issue of Poland and the 1830 Polish revolts. The US joined England and France in supporting the Polish in their struggle for complete independence from Russia.

With the second outbreak of Polish revolts in 1863, however, the US attitude changed. Having recently won the Mexican-American War in 1848, the US was still fearful of Mexican aggression. When Napoleon III of France displayed his support for Mexico, the US became concerned; not even Napoleon's pro-Polishness could excuse this fact. The Polish revolts in 1863 against Russia prompted an interesting response from the US, described as follows:

The pro-Mexicanism...of Napoleon III was more important to...[the US] than his pro-Polishness... The United States thus felt impelled to reorientate herself in the direction of unqualified friendship for Russia. Old friendships had to be revised, and even traditional sentiments...The US was forced to become anti-Polish.¹

Despite having to adopt an anti-Polish policy, the US continued to maintain reasonably good relations with Russia throughout the rest of the 19th century. And yet there could have been no two nations with more different habits.

Many of the rights included in the US Constitution and Bill of Rights were forbidden in Russia. Russia had no free press, no "public opinion," and very little of what Americans called "politics." Furthermore, US papers frequently told of the brutalities exercised by Russian Czars towards the Turks and the

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Poles. The US minister to Russia from 1850-1853 wrote that "No nation has more need of foreigners, and none is so jealous or ungrateful towards them." The leaders of the two nations often thought otherwise, for they believed that Russia and the US actually had much in common. Both Russia and the US had a strong dislike for Britain during the 19th century. When the Civil War broke out in the US, the Russian Czar quickly sided with the Union (the north). This fascinated many observers, who considered the American south to be more similar to aristocratic Russia. Britain, however, favored the South, and a British fleet anchored off the northeastern shores of the US looked as if it might intervene against the north. In 1863, Russian fleets appeared unannounced in San Francisco and New York, and many interpreted their silent arrival as a signal of support to the Union.

In May 1863 the US was invited by Napoleon III to mediate talks between Poland and Russia. US President Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of State, who described Alexander II of Russia as an "enlightened and humane character," wrote the following in his reply:

Notwithstanding, however, the favor with which we thus regard the suggestion of the Emperor of the French, this government finds an insurmountable difficulty in the way of any active cooperation with the governments of France, Austria and Great Britain, to which it is thus invited.²

Economic competition with Britain and France had produced a situation which allowed the US to back Russia, though many Americans would have liked to see the Poles gain more from the reform which followed the abolishment of serfdom.³ Czar Alexander II appreciated this decision, and relations improved even further.

After the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, Czar Nicholas II increased repression within Russia. The US public responded coldly, and relations withered. Russia, preoccupied with maintaining its own order, did not attempt to repair the friendship.

What follows is an analysis written in 1863 of the nature of the friendly relations between Russia and America by the journalist M.N. Katkov. Though he may have distorted England's political intentions, he was representative of a conservative wing in Russia interested in good relations with the US.

Our rapprochement with the United States is useful for all purposes. Russia at present enjoys there a distinct

popularity, and the United States can ally herself only with Russia. *In the event of a European war, the Americans are our natural and genuine allies...*

Our rapprochement with the United States would also be very useful for Russia in the sense that it would help her gain more independence and freedom in her European alliance. This alignment [between Russia and America], expanding the area of America's political action, will move England to become more flexible and yielding in her relations with Russia. The nature of our international relations is such that friendliness toward France means enmity toward England, and every step of our rapprochement with the United States will be accompanied by a step on the part of England nearer to us... The more profitable our alliance is to the United States, the more desirable will it become for England to bolster her good relations with us.¹

Katkov seemed well aware of the political necessities his country faced. He knew that positive relations with the US could influence the orientation of Russia's European neighbors.

Analysts have found 19th century US-Russian relations interesting for several reasons. Perhaps most curious is the fact that neither of the two countries had ever had much contact with each other. Geographically, they were thousands of miles apart. Historically, Russia was well over 300 years older than the US. Politically, the democratic US could hardly have found a better opposite than the aristocratic Russia. And socially, the peoples of the two cultures had scarcely met or seen each other. Within the structure of world politics, however, both the US and Russia disliked England and sometimes France.

Vocabulary (see Handout #8 for definitions):

insurmountable, rapprochement; serfdom.

¹ The American Impact on Russia -- Diplomatic and Ideological -- 1784-1917, Max Laserson, 1950. Collier Books, New York City, NY, p. 215.

² William Seward quoted in Ibid., p. 215.

³ Katkov quoted in Ibid., p. 221-23. Italics in Laserson.

⁴ Under the leadership of Alexander II, Russian serfdom was abolished in March 1861, one year before the Emancipation Proclamation.

KEY TERMS

Allied Powers: In this lesson the term refers to the alliance between Britain, France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1815. The alliance was established for the military security of each country. An attack against one country was considered an attack against all.

amicable: characterized by friendship or goodwill; benevolent, friendly.

animosity: hatred and hostility towards someone or something; enmity.

antipathy: any natural opposition or incompatibility, for example between individuals; dislike for something or someone.

benevolence: a disposition to do good and promote the well-being of others; goodwill.

candor: honest and sincere expression; honesty.

caprice: a sudden change of mind or opinion; whim, fancy.

colonization: the settlement of a foreign country or territory by people who do not already live there.

de facto: something actual; a de facto alliance might exist between states even without a formal structure or agreement.

disinterest: the absence of self-interest or self concern; selflessness.

disposition: one's mood or attitude towards something or someone.

eminently: wholly and completely.

emphatic: expressed or done with force and emphasis; earnest, impressive.

enlightened: being able to act or make decisions based on the complete comprehension of all the problems involved; rational and reasonable.

enmity: a feeling of hostility, dislike, or hatred; antipathy, antagonism.

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infidelity: unfaithfulness to a moral obligation; a breach of trust.

facilitate: to aid or assist in doing something; to hasten

ingratitude: lack of gratitude; ungratefulness.

insurmountable: difficult to surmount or overcome.

intercourse: dealings, exchanges, or connections between people, organizations, or countries.

interposition: to place something or come between two other people, events, or things.

inveterate: fixed by habit or frequent use; deeply rooted.

magnanimous: showing or suggesting loftiness, nobility, and generosity; forgiving.

manifestation: a public demonstration or display of something not always evident; indication, sign.

maxim: a general truth or fundamental principle; a rule of conduct.

monarchical: the rulership of a people or a state by single absolute sovereign; monarchs (kings and queens) usually inherit their positions.

nominal: small and insignificant.

oppression: the unfair or cruel exercise of authority and the imposition of burdens, usually over a group of individuals such as a nation; repression.

propensity: a natural tendency or inclination towards (doing) something.

rapprochement: the act or fact of being drawn near or coming together, usually as an improvement of relations between individuals or states.

reproach: to express disapproval or scorn.

serfdom: servitude or slavery.

STUDY QUESTIONS

A PRESIDENT BIDS FAREWELL (1796)

1. Using Washington's address, try to come up with a definition for the term "isolationism," which applies to the behavior of states.
2. What is Washington referring to when he writes "enlightened?" What does he expect to result from "noble" and "just" foreign policy?
3. Why does Washington advise the US to stay out of alliances? What is especially dangerous about alliances, according to Washington?

MONROE WARNS THE EUROPEAN POWERS (1823)

1. How did Monroe view Russia's presence in North America?
2. How did Monroe describe the political system of European countries, and what was his policy toward their extension of that system of government into the western hemisphere? What was his policy toward US interference in Europe?
3. Monroe did not think that the "security needs" of the US would be affected by the unconditional US recognition of foreign governments. Do you think there is any disagreement between Washington's "isolationist" views and Monroe's suggestions for recognition?

DE TOCQUEVILLE FORESEES TWO SUPERPOWERS (1835)

1. What does DeTocqueville believe is the destiny of both the US and Russia?
2. What characteristics does DeTocqueville believe distinguished America from Russia in the last century? Do they describe two nations at different stages in their development, or do they point to major dissimilarities between the US and Russia?
3. DeTocqueville fails to mention the militaristic aspect of the US's westward expansion and the pioneer aspect of Russia's expansion into Siberia. Why might these be important?

RUSSIA AND AMERICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

1. How would you explain the existence of relations between two countries whose people have never met each other?
2. From Katkov's point of view, was Russia's main concern the US, France, or Britain? Why might improved relations between the US and Russia give Russia more independence in her European alliances?
3. Having answered the above question, how would you differentiate between alliances and friendly relationships?

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HANDOUT #9: ANSWER KEY

All answers below are possible answers only. You and your class will arrive at different answers and may even disagree with those provided here.

A PRESIDENT BIDS FAREWELL (1796)

1. Using Washington's address, try to come up with a definition for the term "isolationism," which applies to the behavior of states. (Answer: "Isolationism" means that a state avoids becoming involved in foreign affairs which do not concern it directly. Washington was concerned that the ambitions of other nations, Europe in particular, would disrupt the aims of US policy. Rather than become attached to European nations, Washington recommended that the US should maintain and pursue only its own interests.)
2. What is Washington referring to when he writes "enlightened?" What does he expect to result from "noble" and "just" foreign policy? (Answer: Washington was implying that a fair attitude towards other nations might help to cultivate good relations between states.)
3. Why does Washington advise the US to stay out of alliances? What is especially dangerous about alliances, according to Washington? (Answer: According to Washington, the US should not form either strong alliances or adversary relations with any country. Strong alliances could entangle the US in other countries' conflicts or otherwise cause the US to act against its own best interest. Alliances are like official commitments, which make them more difficult to give up than loose friendships.)

MONROE WARNS THE EUROPEAN POWERS (1823)

1. How did Monroe view Russia's presence in North America? (Answer: Monroe viewed Russia's presence in North America as a potential future threat. Russia, on the other hand, was not greatly concerned about its possessions in North America, for the decline in the fur trade made these possessions of little relative value at the time.)

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2. How did Monroe describe the political system of European countries, and what was his policy toward their extension of that system of government into the western hemisphere? What was his policy toward US interference in Europe? (Answer: The political systems of the Allied Powers were those of monarchical governments. The US should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of the western hemisphere as a threat to US security. By the same token, the US will not seek to interfere with Europe.)
3. Monroe did not think that the "security needs" of the US would be affected by the unconditional US recognition of foreign governments. Do you think there is any disagreement between Washington's "isolationist" views and Monroe's suggestions for recognition? (Answer: Monroe seems to continue Washington's way of thinking. A policy of noninterference discourages the "deep-rooted opposition" or "passionate attachments" to others which might lead nations "astray" from their perceptions of their own interests. The recognition of a foreign government does not contradict "isolationism." In fact, the rejection of a foreign government may lead to undesired conflicts or disagreements.)

DE TOCQUEVILLE FORESEES TWO SUPERPOWERS (1835)

1. What does DeTocqueville believe is the destiny of both the US and Russia? (Answer: De Tocqueville seems to feel that both the US and Russia are destined to someday dominate the world.)
2. What characteristics does DeTocqueville believe distinguished America from Russia in the last century? Do they describe two nations at different stages in their development, or do they point to major dissimilarities between the US and Russia? DeTocqueville's answer may be summarized in table form.

US	Russia
struggle vs. nature	struggle vs. nations
combats wilderness and savage life	combats civilization
conquests gained by ploughshare	conquests gained by sword
relies on the personal interests of individuals	centers authority on society
freedom	servitude

3. DeTocqueville fails to mention the militaristic aspect of aspect of the US's westward expansion and the pioneer aspect of Russia's expansion into Siberia. Why might these be important? (Answer: The conflict between American settlers and the Native Indians was very significant in a tragic way. It resulted in the forced relocation of most of the native Indian population, which numbered into the millions. White settlers introduced some new diseases, and there was sometimes open warfare between the Whites and the Indians. The Russian exploration and settlement of Siberia was financially beneficial to Russia because of its abundance in furs. In the long run, it has now proved even more profitable for the Soviet Union because of its hydroelectric potential and its vast reserves of minerals, gas and oil. Had the Russians not established a firm hold on Siberia at the early date that they did, another North Pacific power, such as Japan, China or even the US, may have claimed it.)

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

1. How would you explain the existence of relations between two countries whose people have never met each other? (Answer: It is often the interests of a nation's leaders and the needs of the country itself which determine its relations with others. Sometimes relations between two countries develop as a result of similar interests. The distrust for Britain which both Russia and the US had is one such example. Cultural contacts often begin after these initial relations have begun.)
2. From Katkov's point of view, was Russia's main concern the US, France, or Britain? Why might improved relations between the US and Russia give Russia more independence in her European alliances? (Answer: According to Katkov, Russia's main concern was Great Britain. Britain and France were more likely to respect Russia's intentions and demands if they knew that an alliance or friendship existed between Russia and the US. US intervention in European affairs would have seemed a greater likelihood, and thus the chances for war might have increased.)
3. Having answered the above question, how would you differentiate between alliances and friendly relationships? (Answer: Alliances are more formal and binding, but need not be based on "friendships." Many war-time alliances, for example, were based on insecurity or forced cooperation. "Friendly" relationships often describe voluntary cooperation between states which doesn't need to be formalized.

THE EVOLVING COMPLEXITY OF US-RUSSIAN/SOVIET RELATIONS

Lesson Two

Introduction

The purpose of this one-day lesson is to acquaint students with some aspects of the foreign policies of the United States and Russia during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Students will work in groups to analyze readings on US foreign policy, Russian foreign policy, or US-Russian relations. These groups will prepare and present reports on their readings. Then students will consider four types of relationships: friendly, unfriendly, cooperative, and conflictual. After examining a timeline of US-Russian/Soviet relations, students will apply the four classifications to the readings. Finally, students will draw conclusions about US-Russian/Soviet relations in the 18th and 19th centuries. This lesson will help students think more analytically about present-day international relations.

Objectives

In lesson two, students will:

- o work in groups to discuss primary and secondary readings on US-Russian relations
- o present group reports on various aspects of US-Russian/Soviet relations
- o review a timeline listing major and minor events in US-Russian/Soviet history
- o discuss four classifications of international relations
- o apply the four classifications of international relations to the readings
- o draw conclusions about US-Russian relations in the 18th and 19th centuries

Materials

- one copy per student of Handout #10: *Evolution Timeline*
- one copy per student of Handout #11: *Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism* (homework for Lesson Three)

Procedures: Day 2

Analysis of the readings: 20 minutes

1. Ask students how they would define *foreign policy*. (One

possible definition is that which a government does internationally to pursue its national interests.)

2. Divide students into groups of four. Make sure that all students have Handouts #4-#8. Assign each group to focus on one of the four readings read as homework. Students should work in their groups to answer the *Study Questions* on the assigned reading. Each group should also prepare a report to the class on the group's analysis of the assigned reading. Encourage students to use key vocabulary words in their reports.
3. Have one member of each group briefly report on the assigned reading to the class. As a way to discuss these reports, encourage groups to ask each other about their answers to the study questions. Make sure that the main points of the readings have been brought out.

Categories of Relations: 15 minutes

1. Introduce these categories to the class:

Friendly: serving a beneficial or helpful purpose; conducive to goodwill.

Unfriendly: hostile and unsympathetic.

Cooperative: marked by a joint effort toward a common goal. (Cooperation involves two or more partners who combine their efforts for a common goal. Their actions may or may not be accompanied by friendly or unfriendly intentions.)

Conflictual: marked by an antagonistic clash, competition, or mutual interference of opposing or incompatible forces or interests. (Conflict occurs when two or more partners are unable to settle their differences. The conflict itself may be intentional or accidental.)

(Definitions adapted from Webster's Third International Dictionary, 1966.)

- o Tell students that they should think of "friendly" and "unfriendly" as opposites, "conflictual" and "cooperative" as opposites, and "conflict" and "cooperation" as opposites.
- o Ask students for some other terms which could be used to classify relationships between nations. (Possible terms include positive, negative, neutral, competitive, tense, relaxed, and harmonious.)

2. So that the students may understand the complexities of these categories, discuss with them the following questions:
 - o How might the following situations occur, and give examples: a) friendly relationships which end in conflict, and b) unfriendly relationships which end in cooperation?
 - o What might be the most likely causes (friendly relations, conflictual relations, etc.) of some of the following: military alliances; scientific cooperation; cultural exchanges; negotiation walkouts; and economic boycotts?
3. Focus on the application of these four categories to the four readings by asking students the following questions:
 - o Compare and contrast Washington's notion of enlightened self-interest with Monroe's explicit warnings to foreign powers. Is one friendlier than the other? How might they encourage cooperative or conflictual international relations?
 - o Was Russia's annexation of Poland in 1808, when it was made an independent kingdom, friendly or unfriendly? Try to give another example of friendly or unfriendly Russian behavior.
 - o Was the annexation of Texas by the United States friendly or unfriendly? Try to give another example of friendly or unfriendly US behavior.
 - o Was the cooperation between the US and Russia over the Polish revolts based on friendship? Why or why not?
 - o What factors influenced US foreign policy? What factors influenced Russian foreign policy?
 - o What factors, if any, limited the way the US or Russia perceived the other nation?
 - o What generalizations can be made about the ways nations gain their objectives?

Answer any questions the students have about the readings and the four categories.

Timeline: 15 minutes

1. Distribute Handout #10, *Evolution Timeline*, to students. Discuss briefly each point on the *Evolution Timeline* with the class, asking students to classify some events aloud according to the four categories.

Mention to students that US-Russian/Soviet relations evolved slowly during the 18th and 19th centuries. Point out that the *Timeline* focuses on US-Russian/Soviet events in isolation; other world events may have had more historic importance.

2. To bring this lesson to a conclusion, ask students the following questions:
 - o How do US-Soviet relations in the 18th and 19th centuries differ from US-Soviet relations in the 20th century?
 - o What conclusions can be drawn about US-Russian relations in the 18th and 19th centuries?

Homework

1. Distribute Handout #11: *Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism.*
2. Tell students that Handout #11 is to be read for Day 3. The study questions are meant to encourage students to read with more depth. Although the answers do not have to be handed in, students should answer the questions for themselves as the questions will be asked in class on Day 3.

THE EVOLUTION OF US-RUSSIAN/SOVIET RELATIONS

18th Century:

- 1775: American Revolution begins; Emperess Catherine the Great of Russia refuses a request from King George II of England for 20,000 Russian soldiers to crush the rebellious American colonialists.
- 1781-1783: American mission to Russia seeks recognition for the new American Republic and fails.

19th Century:

- 1809: Russia and the US exchange ministers. John Quincy Adams is the first ambassador.
- 1812: Russia offers to mediate in the War of 1812 between the US and England. The US accepts, but England declines.
- 1815: The US and Russia break diplomatic relations briefly when the Russian Consul General in Philadelphia is charged with raping a young girl.
- 1819: Russia asks the US to join the Holy Alliance, a Christian alliance of the strongest European nations. The US declines the offer.
- 1823: The Monroe Doctrine is used by the US government to warn Russia to stay out of northwest America.
- 1824: Russia accepts the 54th parallel as the southern border of Alaska.
- 1863: The Poles revolt against Russian presence. France invites the US to mediate between the Poles and Russians. Rather than side with England, the US chooses to favor Russia and does not mediate. Two Russian naval fleets appear in San Francisco and New York, giving the impression to the US, Britain, and France, that Russia will support the North in the US Civil War.
- 1867: First cultural contacts occur: Russian playwrite Turgenev's "Father & Son" is translated into English. Russia sells Alaska to US for \$7.2 million.

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20th Century:

- 1905: US President Theodore Roosevelt acts as a mediator for the Russo-Japanese War.
- 1917: World War I begins. The US joins Russia, Britain, and France against Germany and Austria.
The Czarist regime in Russia ends when Nicholas II abdicates in February. A provisional government recognized by the US takes power.
A second revolution by the Bolsheviks concludes in November with the establishment of a Bolshevik government; this second revolution is known in the US as the "Russian Revolution."
The US refuses to recognize the new Soviet government.
- 1918: The US supplies troops to cooperate with "White Russians" in resisting and attempting to overthrow the Soviet government.
Some US businesses invest in the Soviet Union.
The Soviet Union signs the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, and withdraws from the First World War.
- 1919: The "Red scare" begins in the US. There is widespread concern that communists and radicals in the Soviet Union are trying to spread the revolution to the US.
- 1920: A US boycott of US-Soviet trade is lifted. Russian diplomats requesting diplomatic recognition are expelled.
- 1921-22: A massive famine strikes Russia. Extensive US humanitarian aid is organized by Herbert Hoover, future US President, and other US organizations.
- 1922: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is officially formed.
- 1924: In February, Britain is the first western power to recognize the USSR fully and unconditionally.
Communist Party leader Vladimir Lenin dies in June.
- 1930: Trade between the US and the Soviet Union reaches its peak despite the issue of recognition.
- 1932-33: Relations improve between the USSR and its neighbors. Bilateral non-aggression pacts are signed by the Soviet Union, Finland, Estonia, and Latvia.
- 1933: US President Franklin Roosevelt recognizes the Soviet Union. Diplomatic relations between France and USSR are renewed.
Adolf Hitler is appointed Chancellor of Germany.
- 1934: Soviet Union joins the League of Nations. The US does not join.

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND COMMUNISM

The following summarizes three economic theories or ideologies in their pure forms. The summaries do not provide information on the range of views available within each theory, or on the distinction between theory and practice. The reader should be aware that there are many applications of these theories which cannot be presented here. Furthermore, though capitalism is often associated with "western nations," and communism with "eastern nations," this handout focuses on the theories only.

Capitalism

In the capitalist system, the "means of production" (factories, natural resources, farms, etc.) are owned privately by individuals or businesses, and not by the state. There are few government regulations which constrain the actions of businesses in capitalist economies. Capitalism is often called the "free market" system for this reason. This means that businesses benefit from their successes by receiving profit directly from their sales. In order for a business to earn more profit than its competitors, it has to be more efficient and sell more. This efficiency is supposed to benefit the entire society, so that resources and capital (money, raw materials, tools, machinery, etc.) are not wasted. Services, such as transportation, medical care, radio and television broadcasting, etc., are also governed by the competitive principles of capitalism.

Adam Smith (1723-1790), who was one of the first advocates and architects of modern capitalism, described economic competition as an "invisible hand" which kept economies in order. Perfect competition (which would be the ideal state of capitalism) forces businesses to surpass their competitors. The continuous cycle of competition and improvement should eventually stimulate the growth of the whole economy. According to Adam Smith, the "invisible hand" of competition is a natural law that cannot be controlled by the government or state. The best way for a government to provide for the economic satisfaction of its citizens, he argued, is for it to maintain a "hands-off" (laissez-faire) policy. In an ideal situation, the government should not have to intervene in any way.

Where competition is the principle governing the entire economy, the profit motive is the principle which guides individual businesses. Capitalism seeks to maintain and improve itself by

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increasing profits and wealth. Profit is accumulated by selling a product for more than the cost of its production. The direct link between profit earned and work performed is meant to be a positive incentive for all businesses. Production and price decisions are directed by market forces of competition, as are wages and salaries.

In order to function, capitalism depends upon both the workers and the owners of businesses. Workers are responsible for adding the value to products, so that they can be sold for profit. This is made possible by the labor of the worker, who transforms resources into finished products. Owners are responsible for managing and regulating the business. Both workers and owners are expected to consume the products sold in a capitalist society.

Although competition is supposed to ensure economic growth, each individual has an important role to play. According to capitalist theory, individualism -- the right and freedom to pursue one's own happiness -- keeps an economy and society strong and healthy. Individuals are encouraged to use their own initiative. Some even establish their own businesses and careers. Individuals are not only supposed to be responsible for their own work, but they should ideally receive benefits according to the quality and quantity of what they do. In this way each person is allowed and encouraged to pursue success.

Socialism

Karl Marx (1818-1883), the founder of modern scientific socialism, argued that the capitalist system was grossly unfair to the worker. His writings focused on the social inequalities produced by the capitalist class society in the time of the Industrial Revolution in England during the mid 1800s. He claimed that in the capitalist society, owners and workers were divided into two different social classes which were distinguished by the income levels of each class. Marx believed workers were being exploited by their employers because workers received in wages only a small fraction of the value of the good produced and sold. Thus, the employer's profit represented money actually earned by the worker.

Another way in which workers were being exploited was that they often worked on an assembly line where work lost its individual character and interest; workers became appendages to the machines they operated. A final argument against capitalism claimed that workers were exposed to the fluctuations in the market, which meant that during times of crisis or poor sales, they frequently lost their jobs; thus, workers were treated as commodities. Marx's analyses are still popular in communist literature.

Another feature of socialism is its rationalism. To socialists, the competition that is so valuable to the capitalist is damaging and socially unhealthy. Socialists believe that capitalism is often wasteful and inefficient because of its chaotic, cyclical nature. In its place they propose a centrally planned economy. The common sense of cooperation and community, they claim, would replace the drawbacks of a competitive system.

Socialists propose that the solution to the capitalist system of exploitation is to put the primary means of production in the hands of the state (nationalization). Some basic businesses such as transportation, health care, and communication would be owned and managed by the government. The workers (whom Marx called the proletariat) would receive the profits of these industries through the state, which would also serve as the medium for their political needs and desires. Instead of eliminating profits, nationalization centralizes profit-making. In this way, socialists argue, profits can be distributed fairly and evenly.

Scientific socialism is characterized by strong ideals. Egalitarianism is an important ethical principle in socialism. It implies the end to jealousy and competition between individuals, especially those who have been divided into opposing classes. It stresses instead the possibility of justice, equality, and ultimately the freedom of access to happiness for every individual.

Socialists and capitalists also have slightly different views of freedom. To socialists, freedom is the release from the oppression and exploitation which are rooted in capitalism. A society of free individuals would require the collapse of capitalism, and its replacement by an egalitarian community.

Communism

The differences between communism and socialism are often difficult to identify and understand. Marx believed that socialism is a stage of economic and social organization between capitalism and communism. The driving force of these historical stages is class conflict. Only with communism would all social and economic classes disappear. Marx believed that the state continued the division of classes. Because he saw the state as a class institution, he argued for the "withering away" of the state. This did not mean that the structure necessary for society should disappear also, but that the concept of the state would be replaced by rulership of the masses.

In the stateless society the people would take over all the means of production. Production would be carried out according to people's abilities, and goods distributed according to their

needs. In other words, the competitive system of individual incentives would be replaced by distribution organized by need, regardless of the amount produced by each individual.

Vocabulary:

commodity: something useful or valued; a good for trade and commerce.

egalitarianism: the belief in human equality and basic rights to social, political, and economic privileges.

laissez faire: the idea that governments should intervene as little as possible in economic affairs.

rationalism: the principle that reason is and should be the final authority in human belief and conduct.

scientific socialism: the socialist theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels which argued that revolution by the workers was an inevitable outcome of class conflict in capitalist societies.

Study Questions

1. Socialists and communists alike complain that capitalism, because it stresses the individual at the expense of brotherhood and community, often produces extreme social inequalities. How do you respond to this claim?
2. Capitalists often complain that the socialist and communist "visions" are utopian and unrealistic. Do you agree or disagree with this complaint, and why or why not?
3. A one-sentence summary of capitalism might be "to each according to his capabilities." A similar summary of communism and socialism might be "from each according to his capabilities, and to each according to his needs." What do you think these statements mean?
4. Why might the differences between communism, socialism, and capitalism be important to US-Soviet relations? How do you think their different values affect the way the US and the Soviet Union perceive each other?

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND COMMUNISM:
STUDY QUESTIONS

Note that the answers provided here are intended to aid the class discussion. They have been chosen from many possible responses.

1. Socialists and communists alike complain that capitalism, because it stresses the individual at the expense of brotherhood and community, often produces extreme social inequalities. How do you respond to this claim?

Agree: In an ideal situation the entire community should benefit from the competitive character of capitalism. When ideal competition does not exist, however, institutions and individuals with more money might also have more political power and a better chance at securing their own interests. The rate of increase in economic status for "poorer" individuals might then be slower than for "richer" individuals, and different social classes could emerge. Competition then ceases to work properly some people are in disadvantaged situations.

Disagree: A different argument can be made that the social inequalities sometimes created by capitalism are the result of "poor management." Inequalities should not be attributed to capitalism itself, but to other factors, such as unfair business practices, etc.. The gap between the rich and the poor could be repaired with government programs so that everyone is given equal opportunities. Competition would then continue to function as normal.

2. Capitalists often complain that the socialist and communist "visions" are utopian and unrealistic. Do you agree or disagree with this complaint, and why or why not?

Agree: Many people think that socialist and communist "visions" are outdated. They argue that capitalism provides many social benefits which are available to everyone, and that the working conditions are no longer reason enough for any kind of revolution. Many people also argue that capitalism has been able to repair and maintain itself.

Disagree: Yet others believe that despite the apparent successes of capitalism, there are many people who do not receive their fair share of benefits. They argue, for example, that better public schools and cheaper health care

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could be made available with more government intervention in the distribution of wealth. This would be achieved most efficiently with the nationalization of certain services such as health care, education, etc..

3. A one-sentence summary of capitalism might be "to each according to his capabilities." A similar summary of communism and socialism might be "from each according to his capabilities, and to each according to his needs." What do you think these statements mean?

Answer: Rewards or resources earned by work rather than given because of need encourage individual achievement and discourage the sharing of benefits. If the rewards are based on the quantity and quality of work, some people will earn more than others. If the rewards are distributed according to need, individuals might work for unequal amounts of time and still receive the same benefits, though this might be seen as unfair also. The two are based on different social values.

4. Why might the differences between communism, socialism, and capitalism be important to US-Soviet relations? How do you think their different values affect the way the US and the Soviet Union perceive each other?

Answer: Many aspects of present-day US-Soviet relations are the results of attempts, successful and failed, to better understand each other's cultural, social, political, and economic values. Both countries have complex cultures built around the preservation of historical values. Both countries view each other through their own values. This can lead to misperceptions and misunderstandings. When the values of one country are threatened, for example, the society too feels endangered. The mutual dismissal and rejection of some of these values has shaped US-Soviet relations.

EARLY 20th CENTURY RELATIONS

Lesson Three

Introduction:

In this two-day lesson, students will compare and contrast capitalism, socialism, and communism. Understanding the differences between these economic theories helps students to identify the values supported by the societies which support these economic beliefs.

Students will then participate in mock negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union over the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States. The negotiations are set in the early 1920s with Herbert Hoover and Vladimir Lenin as the leaders of their two nations. By situating the talks in a volatile time period, students should gain a sense for the importance of historical context. They should also gain knowledge of the negotiating process, which includes awareness of the interests and values each team member represents.

Objectives:

In this lesson, students will:

- o compare and contrast the economic theories of capitalism, socialism, and communism
- o role-play members of US-Soviet delegations in mock negotiations on whether the US should recognize the Soviet Union
- o compare their mock negotiation experience with the events in US-Soviet relations in the early 1920s and 1930s
- o discuss the values underlying US-Soviet relations
- o evaluate their performance in this unit by re-taking the pre-test

Materials:

- overhead projector and screen
- for half the students, one copy per student of Handout #12: *The Soviet Union's Views of the United States*
- for half the students, one copy per student of Handout #13: *The United States' Views of the Soviet Union*
- one copy per student of Handout #14: *Negotiation Instructions*

- six copies of Handout #15: *Monitor Assignment*
- one copy per student of Handout #1: *Pre-test*
- transparency of Overhead #5: *Delegation Roles*

Procedures: Day 3

Introduction to Economic Theory: 35 minutes

1. Students should have read Handout #11, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism* as homework for today. Divide the students into groups of four students each. Students should answer the study questions with their groups.
2. Review the study questions on Handout #11 with the class. Ask each group to contribute some of the possible answers to the study questions so that a variety of responses are heard. Ask what the nature of the following are in capitalist, socialist, and communist societies: the worker, the capitalist (owner), the state (government), and the means of production.
3. Raise the following additional points:
 - o Ideal communism, which does not exist anywhere in the world today, stresses equal distribution of wealth.
 - o Pure (unregulated) capitalism, which also does not exist in the world today, stresses competition and free trade.
4. To focus on the advantages and disadvantages of capitalism, socialism, and communism, ask students the following questions:
 - o What the advantages and disadvantages of socialism and communism in the world today might be.
 (Possible responses include: Some argue that one flaw in communism is the lack of incentive given that workers are not paid in accordance with how well they perform. As evidence, these people point to the improvement in agricultural productivity in socialist countries when farmers are allowed to work private plots for profit. Examples of this might be the Soviet Union after Stalin and contemporary China, where farmers are encouraged to work private plots. Some also argue that one flaw in socialism is that in large countries central planning has proven to be cumbersome and inefficient. Two suggested advantages of socialism and communism are the reduction of social and economic inequalities, and the absence of a competitive environment.)

- o What the advantages and disadvantages of capitalism in the world today might be. (Possible responses include: Some argue that one flaw in capitalism is its dramatically uneven distribution of wealth and power. As evidence, these people point to the US, where the gulf between the very rich and the very poor is enormous, and where many people, disadvantaged in education and training, are unable to find professional positions. Some also argue that those in power can easily manipulate industries and markets for their own profits. Two suggested advantages of capitalism are its efficiency in production, and the enhancement of individual opportunities.)
 - o Note that capitalism, socialism, and communism are intended to benefit the entire society. With this in mind, if you were to construct a social-economic system based on your understanding of these theories, would it be a combination of all three? Why or why not?
5. Focus the discussion again on US-Russian/Soviet relations by asking students the following questions:
- o What aspects of the US economic system are/were capitalist, socialist, communist? What aspects of the Russian/Soviet economic system are/were capitalist, socialist, communist?
 - o What social values are encouraged by capitalism, socialism, and communism?
 - o How has the existence of different economic systems affected the relationship between the US and Russia/Soviet Union?

Preparation for Negotiation: 15 minutes

1. Explain to the class that following the Russian Revolution of November 1917, the US refused to recognize the Soviet government as the Soviet Union's legitimate government. Ask students what non-recognition means. (Answer: There was no official contact between the two nations--no exchange of ambassadors or other officials. The Soviet government was not considered by the US as the official representative of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union was not granted any special trading status, and was not extended many of the loans it sought.)
2. Give half of the students Handout #12, *The Soviet Union's Views of the United States*, and the other half of the students Handout #13, *The United States' Views of the Soviet Union*. Have the students read the handouts in class.

3. Answer any questions students have about the readings or the general time period. Make sure they understand the importance of Russian history from World War I to the famine and the "Red Scare" in the US. Students who have not finished the readings should complete them at home.

Procedures: Day 4

Negotiation: 25 minutes

1. Tell students that in the following negotiation exercise they will be divided into US and Soviet delegations. Each delegation will prepare and present opening statements to the other side. They will be allowed 10 minutes to negotiate their demands. When the negotiations are over, they will compare their experience with the outcome of negotiations which actually took place between the US and the Soviet Union in 1933.
2. For a class of 30 students, divide the class as follows: 12 students for the US delegation, 12 students for the Soviet delegation, 3 student monitors for the US delegation, and 3 student monitors for the Soviet delegation. (For the US delegation, choose among those who read Handout #12, and for the Soviet delegation, choose among those who read Handout #13.) Select the monitors for each delegation. If the class has more than 30 students, instruct the delegation leaders (defined below) to appoint more than two students to the two-person roles listed on Overhead #5, *Delegation Roles*. If the class has fewer than 24 students, do not appoint any students as monitors.
3. Display Overhead #5, *Delegation Roles*. Announce that students should imagine themselves as US and Soviet citizens in the early 1920s. They should try to make their decisions according to the perspectives presented in each of their readings.

Ask the US delegation to move their desks into a circle. The Soviet delegation should do the same on the other side of the room. Ask each delegation to assign a leader who will take notes and present the decisions of each delegation to the class. The delegation leaders (US Secretary of State and Soviet Foreign Secretary) should also give all the students in their delegations roles, as listed on Overhead #5. Students given the same role (up to two students per role) should be sitting next to each other.

4. Distribute Handout #14, *Negotiation Instructions* to all of the students. Review the assignment and answer any questions.

5. Have the students follow the instructions on Handout #14, *Negotiation Instructions*, and encourage them to use Handouts #12 and #13 and to be creative in determining their objectives. Allow each delegation 10 minutes to complete the assignment.

While the delegations are meeting, the six student monitors should meet in the back of the room. Give them each a copy of Handout #15, *Monitor Assignment*, to read. Ask the monitors if they have any questions.

6. Begin the negotiation exercise by asking the delegation leaders to give brief opening remarks. After these remarks, announce that students will be given approximately 10 minutes to negotiate. The delegations are not required to reach an agreement.
7. After 10 minutes has passed, call the negotiations to an end.

Discussion: 20 minutes

1. To summarize and conclude the role-play, ask students the questions below. Pay particular attention to the student monitors, and ask them for their observations.
 - o What were the objectives, demands, and complaints of both delegations? Were there any difficulties coming to a common decision within the delegations?
 - o If normalization of the relationship was the objective of both delegations, was one team more forceful or stubborn? If so, on what points?
 - o What specific complaints and demands, if any, did the US delegation have for the Soviet delegation? Were the complaints legitimate and well-founded? Were the demands reasonable? How did the Soviet delegation respond to these complaints and demands?
 - o What concessions were made by each side, and how did they shape the results of the negotiations? Were any concessions deliberately avoided?
2. Announce that students can step out of their negotiating roles. Ask students if they think negotiations of this kind actually took place? If so, what might the similarities and differences have been between the actual negotiations and the role-play?

3. Conclude the discussion by offering the summary of the actual history of the normalization of US-Soviet relations. Read Reference #1, *The US recognizes the Soviet Union*, to the class. If there is time remaining before students take the post-test, read the letters found in Reference #2, *Letters Exchanged between the US and the USSR, 1933*, also.
4. Draw the negotiations to a close by asking students the following questions:
 - o Were there any differences between the in-class agreement and the actual historical agreements? If so, explain them. What were the similarities? Note: Point out to students that the actual negotiations took place in Washington D.C. in October and November of 1933. The negotiations were often held in the form of discussions between Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov and a variety of US officials, including President Roosevelt.
 - o In what ways was the role-play realistic or unrealistic? In what ways was the role-play useful or not so useful?
 - o What information would you need to perform your roles more closely in line with history? Where could you get this information?

Pre-test: 5 minutes

1. Give each student a new copy of Handout #1, *Pre-test*, which they are to complete in class. After students have completed the post-test, distribute the pre-tests taken on Day 1. Review the answers on the *Pre-test Answer Key* with the class, and ask students to grade both the pre-test and the post-test at the same time. Ask how many students improved their scores, and by how much.

THE SOVIET UNION'S VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Soviet Union was formed in November 1917 when a number of factors combined to bring about the end of the Russian monarchy. The first factor was that by early 1917 the Russian army was virtually unable to continue its involvement in World War I. Russia had been allied with the United States, France, and Britain in the world war against Austria and Germany. War costs of more than \$21 billion had shattered the Russian economy, leaving those who had not been sent to the fronts in poverty. (Russia put 13 million men into service between 1914 and 1916.) The second factor was that public demonstrations against Czar Nicholas II began in February 1917. They quickly gathered momentum, and in March the Nicholas II abdicated the throne and a provisional government was created by revolutionaries.

This provisional government was at first welcomed by the United States as a departure from Russia's traditional (monarchical) form of rulership. However, many Russian citizens were disappointed that the provisional government continued Russia's participation in the war. Demonstrations began again in August and September, and by October they had become quite fierce. Overcoming rivalries of other revolutionary factions, a Bolshevik government was established in November 1917 under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin. This was known as the Russian Revolution, and it began a new chapter of Russian history.

The new government differed from anything that had come before it. It was based on regional and local councils called "soviets" and a strong centralized communist party. The communist party maintained strong ideological differences with western capitalist nations. Many Bolsheviks argued that capitalism was naturally associated with military aggression and imperialism. Soviet party leader Lenin declared that:

the actual aim of the entrance of America into the war is preparation for the future war with Japan. Inasmuch as the American people enjoy significant political freedom, it is difficult to believe that they will put up with compulsory military service or the creation of any army for some aggressive aim, for the struggle with Japan.... And thus it is necessary for the American capitalists to enter into this war [World War I] in order to have a pretext, while hiding behind the high

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ideals of a struggle for the rights of little nationalists, for creating a strong permanent army.¹

The first official act of the new government was a decree on peace, and the new Soviet Congress attempted a peace treaty with Germany. After the first round of negotiations failed, German forces launched a crippling attack against Russia, leaving Lenin no choice but to sign the "Treaty of Brest-Litovsk" in March of 1918. The treaty seriously reduced Russian influence in Poland and the Ukrainian part of Russia.

A civil war had begun in Russia immediately after the November revolution, pitting revolutionary ("Reds") and conservative forces ("Whites") against one another. Western leaders thought that the Bolsheviks ("Reds") had only limited control of Russia. The United States joined other western nations in sending a small number of troops to the European part of the Soviet Union and to Siberia. Western leaders claimed that these troops were supposed to protect war materials in ports such as Archangel and Murmansk, and discourage possible Japanese attempts at expansion. One year before the conclusion of World War I in November 1918, 72,000 of the western Allied (including 7,000 US) troops in Russia were giving active support to the "Whites" fighting against the "Reds" for control of the country. To the frustration of the Soviet government, these troops also fought against "Red" forces. Soviets declared this an act of invasion and an insult to Soviet national sovereignty. By 1920 most of these troops had been expelled. In the mid-1920's, the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky predicted that the Soviet Union was "entering an epoch of the aggressive unfolding of American militarism."² Trotsky also noted that the "superiority which Britain in her hey-day held vis-a-vis Europe is insignificant in comparison with the superiority which the USA has gained over the entire world, including Britain."³

Having just endured six and a half years of foreign and civil war, revolution, foreign intervention, and now famine, Russia in the early 1920s had to look westward for assistance. Though Lenin had not taken great interest in the US before the war, he had praised American agricultural productivity (in contrast to Russia's less efficient agrarian system). He also admired US industrial productivity and certain "progressive" elements within American society (such as relatively high teachers' salaries).

Though the United States provided food and medical aid for the victims of the famine, at one time feeding 10 million Soviets, it refused to officially recognize the government. Lenin strongly believed that full diplomatic recognition of the new Soviet regime would create the opportunity for normal relations with its former war-time allies. Believing that official recognition by

capitalist countries would also strengthen Soviet economic and political power, Lenin's foreign policy goals were threefold: negotiate trade agreements, financial credits (loans), and pursue diplomatic recognition. These goals were linked to each other; until the Soviet Union was to be granted recognition, the matter of credits and loans would be difficult to settle. In letters between the US and the Soviet Union the US made its position clear:

...an essential prerequisite to the establishment of harmonious and trustful relations with the Soviet government is the abandonment by the present rulers of Russia of their world revolutionary aims...and the abandonment by Moscow of direction, supervision, control, financing, et cetera,...of communist and other related activities in the United States.*

Pressured by continued economic disarray, the Soviet Union launched a foreign policy of concessions, permitting western businesses to use the country's many raw materials and resources. Eager to remain on good terms with previous allies, the Soviet Union engaged in negotiations for the resumption of diplomatic relations. Even still the anti-western propaganda of the Soviet government continued to insult the US public.

After a year of sometimes long and bitter talks (hampered by a war between Poland and the Soviet Union), Great Britain granted the Soviet Union de facto recognition in March 1921 with a provisional agreement for the negotiation of mutual trade. In 1922 the new German government signed the Treaty of Rapallo for full diplomatic relations with the Soviets, establishing a precedent which was followed by Britain (under rulership of the labor party) in 1924. However none of the long-term credits sought by the Soviet government were granted by western nations.

During the late 1920s the Soviet Union improved relations with its East European neighbors. In 1931, the western powers invited the Soviet Union to join the Kellogg Pact for the "renunciation of war," three years after it had been signed by the western nations. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, there was a renewal of relations between the US, France, and the Soviet Union. Afraid of Germany's post World War I military recovery, France and the Soviet Union agreed on collaboration for greater security against Germany. US President Franklin Roosevelt offered to officially recognize the Soviet Union on several conditions. The Soviet Union quickly accepted.

Diplomatic ties with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, both French allies, were established in 1934, and the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. Defense of this new Soviet foreign policy

can be found in remarks made by Soviet leader Josef Stalin in January 1934:

...concerning the alleged re-orientation of the USSR. We never had any orientation toward Germany nor have we any orientation toward Poland or France. Our orientation has been and is toward the Soviet Union and only the Soviet Union. And if the interests of the USSR demand a rapprochement with these or those countries which are not interested in breaking the peace, we shall act without wavering.⁵

However these improvements could not disguise the distrust the French, British, and Soviets had for each other. It seemed that only Hitler's rapid success provided the grounds for their cooperation.

Until they were allies again during World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union were unable to eliminate their ideological differences. The Soviet Union was then undergoing large-scale repression by its leader, Josef Stalin. The United States, too, had withdrawn somewhat from the world of international affairs. Although it was the US which drew up plans for the League of Nations, it never joined.

Vocabulary:

Whites: the name given to the conservative anti-communist opponents of the Soviet regime.

League of Nations: an international organization established in the 1920s for the promotion of international cooperation.

provisional: in service only until replaced permanently; temporary.

¹ Quoted in Henry L. Roberts, "Russia and America," in Russian Foreign Policy (edited by I.J. Lederer), 1962. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, pp. 590-91.

² Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Unarmed -- Trotsky: 1921- 1929, 1959. Oxford University Press, London, Great Britain, p. 214.

³ Ibid., p. 213.

⁴ Foreign Relations of the United States, Vol. II, 1933. Department of State, Washington, D.C., pp. 783-784.

⁵ Sidney Harcave, Russia: A History, 1964. J.B. Lippincott Co., New York City, NY, p. 650.

THE UNITED STATES' VIEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and its aftermath alarmed the United States. The conflict in Russia had begun with a popular uprising (February, 1917) during which a provisional government replaced the aristocracy of Czar Nicholas II. The United States supported this provisional government as a change from Russia's monarchical past. In November, however, a group called the Bolsheviks overturned the provisional government and established their own. The Bolsheviks were led by Vladimir Lenin, who was a the communist party leader and a firm believer in communism. The US government, concerned by this turn to communism, viewed this second government as illegitimate, and was appalled when the Bolsheviks set up the repressive secret police organization known as Cheka (the precursor of the modern KGB). (The precursor organization to the FBI had not yet been formed in the US.) Especially because the Russian Revolution had not yet reached all corners of Russia's vast territory, the US refused to accept this new Bolshevik government as legitimate and final. The civil war which had followed the revolution gave western nations further cause to hope that the Bolsheviks would soon be defeated. Over 72,000 Allied troops, among them 7,000 Americans, were deployed to protect allied military supplies in Russia and to aid the ("White") resistance against the Bolsheviks. Although these forces were clearly intervening in the course of the civil war, US President Wilson was reluctant to send them.

In January 1919 when the Allied leaders (of France, Great Britain, and the United States) met in Paris to determine the fate of postwar Europe, Wilson proposed that the Soviets should have the right to self-determination without outside interference. By that time the US troops which had helped the resistance to the Bolshevik government in 1917 had been withdrawn, and hopes for the regime's failure were given up.

Wilson respected the revolutionary spirit of this new era, while at the same time disagreeing with the new Soviet government's anti-western propaganda. Soviet government statements frequently described western capitalist nations as "imperialists," "plunderers," and "pillagers." One communist resolution stated that "We are the deadly enemies of bourgeois society...the gravedigger of bourgeois society."¹ These statements bred distrust and hostility among western political leaders. The rapid establishment of a rigid and centralized government system distressed westerners even further.

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George Kennan, former US Ambassador to the Soviet Union observed that:

Wilson was a man who had never had any particular interest in, or knowledge of, Russian affairs. He had never been in Russia. There is no indication that the dark and violent history of that country had ever occupied his attention. Like many other Americans, he felt a distaste and antipathy for Tsarist autocracy as he knew it, and a sympathy for the revolutionary movement in Russia. Precisely for this reason, the rapid degeneration of the Russian Revolution into a new form of authoritarianism, animated by a violent preconceived hostility toward western liberalism, was a phenomenon for which he was as little prepared, intellectually, as a great many of his compatriots.¹

The US public continued to be troubled by the images they had of the new Soviet Union. Many people believed that the communists in power were immoral (the government officially sponsored atheism) and subversive.

By 1919 these perceptions evolved into the "red scare"--a massive outbreak of fear in the US public. Anxieties were heightened by the formation of a US communist party run by American leftists and inspired by the Russian Revolution. Several public bombings occurred, and these were attributed mostly to the communists. One US official said that

The despots of Russia are doing their best to spread their vile system of anarchy to the entire world. They boast of it. Their minions have invaded this fair country and their seed sown here is bearing fruit.²

Thousands of suspected anarchist, radical, and Bolshevik foreigners were deported.

US Presidents Warren Harding and Herbert Hoover did not see any reason to give recognition to a revolutionary government subversive to their own. Since Soviet communism was dedicated to supporting worldwide revolution, it was easily perceived as a threat to capitalism in general. An atmosphere of conflict between capitalism and communism soon prevailed. President Harding's Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, remarked in 1921 that

Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition of firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contracts and the rights of free labor...until this evidence is supplied this [US]

government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations [with the Soviets].'

What relations there were between the US and the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate in the thickening atmosphere of distrust. The US refused to recognize the Soviet Union's new diplomat, and in 1920 raided the offices he was using in the US to conduct business with US companies. During these first postwar years US leaders saw little reason to trade or negotiate with the Soviets. The Soviet market for trade was not very large in the early 1920s, and the Soviet Union had very little money with which it could have bought US imports. Negotiations on loans and other forms of credit which the Soviet Union needed from the west might have been successful, but were blocked by other political complications.

Despite this "war of words," Lenin sought to gain diplomatic recognition, trade, and financial credit from the US and other western nations. He believed that official recognition would help to increase foreign trade and also guarantee the safety of Soviet borders.

Shortly after the Russian civil war, a large-scale famine began in the Soviet Union. All across the grain belt villagers suffered and died from starvation. US attitudes towards the Soviet people shifted and became more sympathetic. In the 1920s US agencies, in particular the American Relief Administration, sent food and administrators to the most afflicted areas of the Soviet Union. The subsequent successes of the Soviet Union's first "five year plan," a centrally designed program for economic growth, drew attention from some westerners. At the very time when the US was feeling the onset of the depression, the Soviet Union was growing, producing, trading, and employing in ever greater numbers. Even still the US denied diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, and public attitudes generally remained cool and mistrustful.

During the late 1920s the Soviet Union improved relations with its East European neighbors. In 1931, the western powers invited the Soviet Union to join the Kellogg-Briand Pact for the "renunciation of war," three years after it had been signed by the western nations. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, there was a renewal of relations between the US, France, and the Soviet Union. France and the Soviet Union agreed on collaboration for greater security against Germany. Diplomatic ties with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, both French allies, were established in 1934, and the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. Until the 1930s there had been little or no pressure on the United States to recognize the Soviet Union. The Japanese

Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in 1933 that "America's recognition of the Soviet Union is a great question mark in the history of humanity," adding that "if those two countries continue in favorable relations for years to come, they will teach a lesson to the world that capitalism and communism can agree."⁵ However ideological disputes continued to delay recognition. In a letter to the Soviet government, one US official summarized the US's position as follows:

...an essential prerequisite to the establishment of harmonious and trustful relations with the Soviet government is the abandonment by the present rulers of Russia of their world revolutionary aims...and the abandonment by Moscow of direction, supervision, control, financing, et cetera,...of communist and other related activities in the United States.⁶

But the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in eastern China (1894) came as a shock to both the Soviet Union and the US. Josef Stalin, who had filled Lenin's position as the Soviet leader in 1926, hoped that improvement of US-Soviet relations would deter the Japanese from further aggression and thus pressed for recognition by the United States. Recently-elected President Franklin Roosevelt also sensed this change in the international scene caused by the aggressiveness of Germany and Japan; he quickly arranged for US-Soviet negotiations. Of further importance to Roosevelt was the possibility that increased trade with the Soviet Union might help to offset the depression which was already crippling the US. His only challenge was convincing the public itself, which was still ill at ease with communism. The Soviets swiftly embraced the offer of recognition, though the debts were never repaid. In 1933, a carefully written document granted the Soviet Union recognition.

Vocabulary:

atheism: the belief that there is no God or gods.

bourgeois: usually used in Communist writings; middle class, materialistic, and petty.

despot: a tyrannical ruler.

five-year plan: a five year economic program, begun by the Soviet Union in 1928 for centralized control of economic growth and production.

minions: a servile follower or minor official.

¹ Quoted in Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin, George F. Kennan, 1960. Mentor Books, New York City, NY, p. 177.

² Quoted in Henry L. Roberts, "Russia and America" in Russian Foreign Policy (edited by I.J. Lederer), 1962. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, p. 589-90.

³ Quoted in The Other Side: How Soviets and Americans Perceive Each Other, Robert English and Jonathan J. Halperin, 1987. Transaction Books, New Brunswick, Canada, p. 18.

⁴ Quoted in The Soviets in World Affairs, Louis Fischer, 1960. Princeton University Press, Vintage Books, New York City, NY, p. 227.

⁵ Quoted in Foreign Relations of the United States, Vol. II, 1933. Department of State, Washington, D.C. p. 797.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 783-784.

NEGOTIATION INSTRUCTIONS

1. Take a few minutes individually or with your role partner (if you have one) to define your negotiation objectives. These do not have to be written down. The handout you have read (#11 or #12) can be used as a guide.

Examples: Civil liberties groups may be concerned about the Soviet Union's undemocratic form of government. Red Army officials may be concerned about US and foreign military presence in the Soviet Union.

2. While individual members of delegations will have different negotiation goals, delegations should make decisions about their policies based on discussion. Your delegation should discuss and decide upon the following:

Primary objectives

Examples are:

- o gain trading privileges
- o attain long-term financial credits
- o stop communist subversion
- o replace the communist government

Demands or proposals

Examples are:

- o recognition of the Soviet government as the Soviet Union's legitimate government
- o normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and the end to Soviet interference with the internal affairs of the US

Complaints

Examples are:

- o US military supported resistance groups fighting the Bolsheviks during the Revolution
- o the persecution of US socialists and Communists by the US government
- o the secret Soviet support of groups devoted to communist revolution in other countries, especially the US
- o the use of the secret police organization Cheka within the Soviet Union

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3. The delegation representatives should work with the delegation leader to prepare opening remarks at the beginning of negotiations. After these opening remarks, negotiations will proceed informally.

MONITOR ASSIGNMENT

As a student monitor, you play an important role as a neutral observer of this negotiation simulation. While sitting together with your delegation (you should have been appointed to either the Soviet or US delegation by your teacher) you should observe the following and take notes.

You should try to take notes on the following:

- o Were your delegation's primary objectives easy to define, or were there disagreements between different representatives? If so, what were they?
- o Were the negotiations themselves balanced in favor of one side or the other, or did both sides have equally valid claims?
- o Did the negotiations proceed in a controlled or haphazard fashion? How might they have been conducted more productively?

At the conclusion of the activity you will be given a chance to present your observations to the rest of the class.

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Setting: the early 1920s

Issue: official US recognition of the Soviet Union

Participants:

US Delegation:

Soviet Delegation

One representative per delegation for each of the following:

Secretary of State
(delegate leader)

Foreign Secretary
(delegate leader)

Hoover's Aide

Lenin's Aide

Secretary of Defense

Defense Minister

One or two representatives per delegation of each of the following groups:

Civil Liberties

Cheka Representative

US Communist Party

Red Army Official

US businessman

Soviet businessman

US citizen

Soviet citizen

US farmer

Soviet farmer

THE US RECOGNIZES THE SOVIET UNION

Negotiations between the US and the USSR in the early 1920s failed to make any progress. Recognition by the US was withheld until 1933, longer than by any other nation. In 1933 the new US President Franklin Roosevelt recognized the Soviet government, partly because a worldwide economic depression made new trading partners necessary. In addition, Roosevelt's openness to political experiments made the atmosphere in the US more tolerant of the Soviet Union's different political system.

In return for recognition, the Soviets agreed in general not to interfere with the internal affairs of the US, its territories, or possessions. Specifically, the Soviet Union promised:

- a. not to encourage civil disobedience or stir up civil unrest or agitation; (The US had in mind actions like strikes by labor unions, protest marches etc., and meetings for women's voting rights.)
- b. not to encourage US citizens' complaints about the economic system;
- c. not to encourage or incite any armed or unarmed dissent from within the US;
- d. not to try to use force to change the political or social order of the US;
- e. not to support any group within the Soviet Union which claimed to be the government of the US;
- f. not to support or permit in the Soviet Union any military organization aiming to bring about change in the US by armed force;
- g. to prevent recruiting for such organizations within the Soviet Union.

Shortly following the 1933 agreement, the Soviet Union made further agreements. They promised to give religious liberty and fair trials to US citizens living in Russia, absolved the US of any blame for sending troops hostile to the Russian Revolution into Russia in 1917, and made other minor concessions.

By 1940 the US felt that the Soviets had not kept their promises. In 1941 the US and the Soviet Union found it necessary to become allies against Germany for the duration of World War II.

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LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1933

Washington, October 10, 1933.

My Dear Mr. President: ...

It is most regrettable that these great peoples, between whom a happy tradition of friendship existed for more than a century to their mutual advantage, should now be without a practical method of communicating directly with each other.

The difficulties that have created this anomalous situation are serious but not, in my opinion, insoluble; and difficulties between great nations can be removed only by frank, friendly conversations. If you are of similar mind, I should be glad to receive any representatives you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Moscow, October 17, 1933.

My Dear Mr. President: I have received your message of October tenth.

I have always considered most abnormal and regrettable a situation wherein, during the past sixteen years, two great republics -- the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- have lacked the usual methods of communication and have been deprived of the benefits which such communication could give. I am glad to note that you also reached the same conclusion.

There is no doubt that difficulties, present or arising, between two countries, can be solved only when direct relations exist between them; and that, on the other hand, they have no chance for solution in the absence of such relations. I shall take the liberty further to express the opinion that the abnormal situation, to which you correctly refer in your message, has an unfavorable effect not only on the interest of the two states concerned, but also on the general international situation, increasing the element of disquiet, complicating the process of consolidating world peace and encouraging forces tending to disturb that peace.

...I gladly accept your proposal to send...a representative...

Mikhail Kalinin

From Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1933, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 794, 795, 805. Department of State, Washington, D.C. Excerpted by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education.

REFERENCE #2, page 2

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My Dear Mr. Litvinov: I am very happy to inform you that as a result of our conversations the Government of the United States has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to exchange ambassadors.

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My Dear Mr. President: I am very happy to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is glad to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States and to exchange ambassadors.

I, too, share the hope that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

Maxim Litvinoff

Appendix A RELATED ACTIVITIES

We have provided lists of related activities to offer teachers suggestions on how ideas within Major Concepts/Events in United States-Soviet Union Relations: From The Origins to Recognition may be extended in both general and specific ways. Any connections to California's History/Social Science Framework and History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards are indicated in parentheses.

- o Assess the role of interest groups in the making of US policy towards Russia and the Soviet Union. (US History and Geography Standard 4)
- o Assess the role of economics in 19th and early 20th century US relations with the Soviet Union and Russia. (US History and Geography Standard 10)
- o Assess the role of the media in US-Soviet relations. (US History and Geography Standard 21)
- o Discuss the reactions of the British, French, Spanish, Latin American nations (especially Mexico, Argentina, and Chile), Russians, and Portuguese to the Monroe Doctrine. Also note approval and disapproval of the doctrine within the US.
- o Analyze in detail the US purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867.
- o In examining the importance of the US's preoccupation with exploration, discovery, control, and development, note the areas in which US interests were in conflict with Russian/Soviet interests. (US History and Geography 24)
- o Discuss the role of individual leadership in the making of US policy towards Russia and the Soviet Union. (US History and Geography 36)
- o Discuss the significance of values and principles to the Monroe Doctrine. (American Government and Civics Standard 2)
- o Discuss in detail the early "Red Scare" following the Russian Revolution, and its impact on the public attitude towards Russia. (American Government and Civics Standard 6)
- o Compare and contrast the role of the military, the public, and government leaders in the making of US and Soviet foreign policies. (American Government and Civics Standard 18)

- o Discuss the correlation between domestic governments and their country's foreign policy. Case studies might be the early Soviet regime and its attempts to secure diplomatic recognition, or the use and non-use of American democratic institutions in the decision against joining the League of Nations. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 11)
- o Follow and discuss the evolution of capitalism and its effects on the structure of international trade and the world economy. Analyze the role communism plays both within and outside the capitalist system. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 15)
- o Compare and contrast the treatment of "foreign" cultures in American and Russian expansion. Relate this treatment to the construction of these two nations. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 17)
- o Discuss the impact of America's and Russia's greatest, or most important leaders on world history. Some examples are Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, Alexander I, Catherine, Lenin, and Stalin. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 22)
- o California students may be interested in researching Fort Ross, founded in 1812, as an outpost of imperial Russia. Fort Ross was not only an extension of Russian power, but it was also a supply base for Russia's settlers of Alaska. It was founded by the Russian American Company. (History/Social Science Framework "Our State in the Twentieth Century" - Grade 9 course)
- o Discuss the role of religion in Russia/the Soviet Union in the 19th and early 20th centuries. (History/Social Science Framework "Comparative World Religions" - Grade 9 course)
- o Examine the US and Russian/Soviet culture of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Attention could be given to the following: population; the status and roles of women and minority groups; the processes of cultural change and exchange. (History/Social Science Framework "Area Studies: Cultures" - Grade 9 course)
- o Discuss the processes of social control in the US and Russia/the Soviet Union in the 19th and early 20th centuries. (History/Social Science Framework "Sociology"-Grade 9 course and "Principles of American Democracy"-Grade 12 course)
- o Compare/contrast the role and status of women in the US and Russia/the Soviet Union in the 19th and early 20th

centuries. (History/Social Science Framework "Women in Our History" - Grade 9 course)

- o Study the history, culture, contributions, and status of ethnic groups in the US and Russia/the Soviet Union during the 19th and early 20th centuries. (History/Social Science Framework "Ethnic Studies" - Grade 9 course)
- o Compare/contrast the US constitution with the constitution of the Soviet Union. Examine the rights and responsibilities of citizens. (History/Social Science Framework "Law-Related Education" - Grade 9 course and "Principles of American Democracy" - Grade 12 course)
- o Explore the way in which different philosophies influenced the US and Russian/Soviet governments in terms of economic policies, social welfare programs, and human rights practices. (History/Social Science Framework "Principles of American Democracy" - Grade 12 course)
- o Compare/contrast the status of democracy in the US and Russia/the Soviet Union in the 19th and early 20th centuries. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World" - Grade 10 course)
- o Examine the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the US and Russia. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World" - Grade 10 course)
- o Compare the Bolshevik Revolution and the Chinese Communist Revolution. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World" - Grade 10 course and "Principles of American Democracy" - Grade 12 course)
- o When working on lesson one of this curriculum unit, research the demographic shifts of the US population in the late 19th century. (History/Social Science Framework "US History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century" - Grade 11 course)
- o Research public reaction in the US and government reaction in Europe to the US recognition of the Soviet Union. (History/Social Science Framework "US History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century" - Grade 11 course)
- o Research Marxist ideology. (History/Social Science Framework "Principles of American Democracy" - Grade 12 course)

- o Research in detail the differences between market economies and command economies. (History/Social Science Framework "Economics" - Grade 12 course)
- o Research the volume of US-Soviet trade in the early 20th century.
- o Research events on the timeline (Handout #9).
- o Use the conflict model introduced in The Anatomy of Conflict (by the International Security and Arms Control Project) to analyze in detail various US-Russian/Soviet conflicts introduced in this curriculum unit.
- o It has been said about Washington's Farewell Address that it "reaches beyond any period limited in time and reveals the basic issue of the American attitude toward foreign policy: the tension between Idealism and Realism." Discuss US foreign policy in terms of idealism and realism. Also consider the tension between isolationism and interventionism.
- o Define the concept "interdependence." Were the US and Russia/Soviet Union interdependent in the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries? If so, what factors affected this interdependence?
- o Some scholars argue that the US and the Soviet Union felt antagonism for each other in the early 20th century because each represented the embodiment of a hostile clan. Discuss.
- o Examine and discuss the role of public opinion and ideology in the making of foreign policy both in the US and the Soviet Union. Focus on their policies towards each other.

Appendix B
CONNECTIONS TO TEXTBOOKS

Major Concepts/Events In United States-Soviet Union Relations: From The Origins To Recognition may be easily and appropriately used in conjunction with US history, world history, western civilization, Russian studies, and political science textbooks. This unit may be integrated into discussions of textbook topics such as US-Russian relations, US-Soviet relations, Russian and Soviet history and foreign policy, US history and foreign policy, imperialist expansion in the 19th century, US history in the post-World War II era, the Cold War; capitalism, communism, and socialism; and ideology.

This unit may also be adapted in many ways to be used in conjunction with a variety of textbooks and other teaching materials in social studies. Suggestions for adaptation are found in Appendix A (Related Activities).

Appendix C
CONNECTIONS TO CALIFORNIA'S HISTORY/SOCIAL SCIENCE
FRAMEWORK AND MODEL CURRICULUM STANDARDS

As a service to California educators, we have described below the ways in which Major Concepts/Events In United States-Soviet Union Relations: From The Origins To Recognition ties into the History/Social Science Framework and the History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards.

History/Social Science Framework

This unit can be utilized in the following history/social science goal and curriculum strands:

Knowledge and Cultural Understanding: cultural literacy, ethical literacy, geographic literacy, and sociopolitical literacy.

Skills Attainment and Social Participation: basic study skills and critical thinking skills.

This curriculum unit, in its entirety or in separate lessons, can be used as is or adapted to supplement textbooks and other teaching materials in these course: Physical Geography (Grade 9), World Regional Geography (Grade 9), World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World (Grade 10), and United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century (Grade 11); The adaptations are listed in detail in the social studies section of Appendix A (Related Activities). Listed below are some ways in which this curriculum unit directly supports the Framework:

Physical Geography: These courses are expected to provide opportunities for discussion of the physical landscape, including the patterns and processes of climate and weather and topography. In lesson one of this curriculum unit students are exposed to place-name geography in order to develop a good sense of where major physical features in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the United States are located.

World Regional Geography: These courses are designed to provide an understanding of basic physical geography and map reading skill. In lesson one of this curriculum unit, students will consider a regional mosaic of Western Europe to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Lesson one also gives attention to the traditional roles foreign nations played in the growth of the United States. The dimension of time included in the maps of US and Russian expansion shows students how the geographies of the US and Russia evolved.

World History, Culture, and Geography: This course recommends the study of World War I, the Russian Revolution, and communist ideology. The fact that the US and Russia were allies in World War I is raised in this curriculum unit. Students discuss the Russian Revolution and its impact on US-Soviet relations as well as the principles of communism.

US History and Geography: This course requires the study of popular fears of communism and anarchism in the US associated with the Russian Revolution, and the "Red Scare." These topics are raised in lessons two and three of this curriculum unit. US attitudes towards the Soviet Union are brought into sharp focus by the negotiation exercise on day four.

History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards

Adaptations of this curriculum unit to meet the History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards are described in Appendix A (Related Activities). Listed below are some ways in which this unit directly supports the Model Curriculum Standards.

United States History and Geography

Standard 1: "A course should enable students to understand the chronological flow of events, the dynamics of change, and the critical links between past and present." Lessons two and three draw students' attention to the chronological flow of events between the US and Soviet Union and to the changing form of US-Soviet relations.

Standard 8: "A course should help students evaluate the causes and effects of American military involvements." Lessons two and three provide students with the historical roots of American military involvement with or in the Soviet Union. Students are also taught to analyze the causes of conflict and cooperation critically, and to distinguish between different intensities of conflict and cooperation.

Standard 9: "A course should evaluate American foreign policy in the light of internationalist/isolationist cycles." Lessons one, two, and three present some aspects of historical American foreign policy.

Standard 11: "A course should develop an understanding of the influence of geographical factors in United States history." Lesson one includes a map activity describing some important geographical factors related to US history. Such factors are also described in a handout on US history.

Standard 37: "A course should provide opportunities for students to develop basic, creative and critical thinking, and inter-personal or social participation skills." The importance of

critical thinking is stressed throughout the unit, particularly in lessons two and three. Students will participate in class discussions and presentations; lessons one and three require creativity and active involvement in the analysis of US-Soviet relations.

World History, Culture, and Geography

Standard 1: "A course should enable students to understand the chronological flow of events, the dynamics of change, and the critical links between past and present." Lessons two and three focus on the character of international change, and the effects leaders and international events may have on the continuity or discontinuity of past and present.

Standard 2: "A course should be worldwide in scope, including Western, Middle Eastern, Asian, African, and Native American cultures and civilizations. This is essential to allow students to grasp the deep historical roots of contemporary global interdependence." Lessons one, two, and three demonstrate the interconnectedness of international concerns (such as war and peace) by examining US, Russian/Soviet, and European interests.

Standard 5: "A course should introduce students to the discipline of history and the social sciences. It should show how historians and social scientists sift evidence to arrive at an approximation of truth; and it should give students an understanding of analytical concepts with which they can more effectively interpret, compare, criticize, and question the important issues of both the past and the present. The analytical and comparative study of selected primary documents should be an important part of this process." This unit uses four categories of international relations (friendly, unfriendly, cooperative, and conflictual) which students apply both to original sources and to historical interpretations. They are encouraged to view history critically, keeping in mind that its truth is the result of a historical process which includes both writing and interpreting.

Standard 6: "A course should develop the student's knowledge of physical and place-name geography and encourage relation of that knowledge to specific historical or contemporary events and conditions." Lesson one relates the expansion of the US and Russia to some geographic needs. It also require students to consider the impact foreign countries had on US and Russian history.

Appendix D BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is divided into the following categories: Materials Used to Prepare Major Concepts/Events In United States-Soviet Union Relations: From The Origins To Recognition; Related Reference Materials on US-Russian/Soviet Relations; Related Reference Materials on US History; Related Materials on Russian/Soviet History; Related Reference Materials on Economic Theories; and Related Classroom Materials.

Materials Used to Prepare this Unit

America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Ours, Thomas A. Bailey, 1964. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

The American Impact on Russia -- Diplomatic and Ideological--1784-1917, Max Laserson, 1950. Collier Books, New York City, NY.

The American Spirit, Vol. 1, Thomas Bailey, 1978. D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington, MA.

Americans and the Soviet Experience: 1917-1933, Peter G. Filene, 1967. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

The Anatomy of Conflict, Robin Riddle, et al, Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, 1987. International Security and Arms Control Project, Stanford, CA.

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union, edited by Archie Brown, John Fennell, Michael Kaser, H.T. Willetts, 1982. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Capitalism, edited by Bruno Leone, second edition, 1986. Greenhaven Press, St. Paul, MN.

Communism, edited by Bruno Leone, 1986. Greenhaven Press, St. Paul, MN.

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The Prophet Unarmed -- Trotsky: 1921-1929, Isaac Deutscher, 1959. Oxford University Press, London, England.

Russia: A History, fifth edition, Sidney Harcave, 1964. J.B. Lippincott Co., New York City, NY.

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The Russian Empire, Hugh Seton-Watson, 1967. Oxford University Press, London, England.

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The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Minton F. Goldman, ed., 1986. Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Guilford, CT.

The Soviets in World Affairs, Louis Fischer, 1960. Princeton University Press, Vintage Books, New York City, NY.

The Urge to the Sea, Robert J. Kerner, 1946. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Related Reference Materials on US-Russia/Soviet Relations

The American Image of Russia: 1917-1977, edited by Benson L. Grayson, 1979. Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc. New York City, NY.

American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917, F.L. Shulman, 1950. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Czars and Presidents: The Story of a Forgotten Friendship, Alexandre Tarsaedze, 1958. Mc Dowell, New York City, NY.

The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy, Robert Paul Browder, 1953. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Recognition of Russia, Edward M. Bennett, 1970. Blaisdell Publishing Co., Waltham, MA.

Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States, John Lewis Gaddis, 1978. Wiley and Sons, New York City, NY.

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Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Russia Leaves the War, George F. Kennan, 1956. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

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Why Lenin? Why Stalin? A Reappraisal of the Russian Revolution, 1900-1930, second ed., Theodore H. von Laue, 1971. J. B. Lippincott Co., New York City, NY.

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Capitalism and Freedom, Milton Friedman, 1982. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

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Socialism, R.N. Berki, 1975. St. Martin's Press, Inc., New York City, NY.

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Related Classroom Materials

Most of the following materials are described fully in the Bibliography of Nuclear Age Educational Resources (third edition, 1988) distributed by the International Security and Arms Control Project.

From Russia to USSR: A Narrative and Documentary History, Janet G. Vaillant and John Richards II, 1985. Independent School Press, Wellesley Hills, MA.

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U.S.-Soviet Relations, second edition, Close-Up Foundation, 1986. Washington, DC.

Appendix E
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Major Concepts/Events In United States-Soviet Union Relations: From The Origins To Recognition is part of a series of units being developed by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education. After a September 1984 review of available curricula for elementary and secondary teachers in the international security and conflict field, the project discovered a need for classroom materials with more balance, a wider range of perspectives, and greater use of critical thinking skills. (These findings were confirmed in January 1987 and April 1988 reviews.) Other needs include materials which meet teachers' goals for greater flexibility of use, shorter time frames, and sensitivity in the treatment of controversial issues.

Curriculum Development. Teachers and international security experts were recruited to assist the project in determining the key issues in this field and in outlining a strategy to insure that the qualities listed above are evident in each new unit. Key social studies-related topics were identified; the plan was to develop a four- to eight-day social studies curriculum unit on each of the topics.

This topical approach was selected because it maintains flexibility for the teachers. Each of the units is designed to stand alone. A teacher who doesn't have the luxury of a separate course on international security issues or even several weeks to use the entire set of units could insert one or more of the units into an existing course when appropriate. (Some suggestions of when the units may be integrated among themes or events covered in standard textbooks are an element of each unit.)

Some of the titles currently under development or already published include:

- The Anatomy of Conflict
- Choices in International Conflict
- Evolution of Methods and Rules of War
- Major Concepts/Events in United States-Soviet Union Relations: From the Origins to Recognition
- Major Concepts/Events in United States-Soviet Union Relations: 1945 - Late 1980s

While all of the materials being developed are designed for use primarily in social studies classrooms, many of the units are applicable to science and language arts classrooms. (Other curriculum units primarily for literature classrooms are being developed as well as social studies units on current events.)

Educational Philosophy. The ISAAC Project believes it is appropriate for the project to hold opinions about educational issues, particularly since topics covered within international security education can be controversial. Since the project believes it is inappropriate for an educational organization to take stands on political issues, it has not advocated any political viewpoint in its curricula. (Advocacy in the classroom is not education -- it is indoctrination.) The project's educational convictions are described below:

- o **Balance and Multiple Perspectives:** The project believes that balanced instruction is a realistic and desirable goal. Balanced instruction has two major elements: first, determining what views exist on a topic and which should be presented; and second, presenting those views. On a given subject, many people are aware of only one or two viewpoints whereas many more may actually exist. Although it is the project's goal that teachers go out of their way to seek as many viewpoints as there are on an issue, the project recognizes that this is difficult because the media usually concentrates on the "major" views and organizational resources in many areas may lack diversity.

In determining what views to present in a classroom, the ISAAC Project encourages teachers to present a continuum of views, not to polarize stands in pro-con format (which tends to oversimplify the debate). Complexity should not be routinely avoided.

The project encourages the presentation of multiple perspectives on an issue. Beyond this, such presentation should be equally fair and thorough on all perspectives. Perspectives should be introduced and analyzed without teacher advocacy. The project recognizes that many teachers believe stating their own viewpoint to the classroom to be essential; it asks such teachers to provide ample opportunity for student or other teacher viewpoints to be heard so that one advocacy position is not presented to the exclusion of others. Balanced presentation of historical and contemporary issues is an integral part of citizenship education.

- o **Critical and Creative Thinking:** Given that achieving this goal of balanced instruction will ensure the utilization of a framework for comparing conflicting ideas and competing ideologies, it is essential that classroom materials encourage the development and expansion of students' critical and creative thinking skills so that they may compare, analyze, and evaluate multiple perspectives. After identifying values and assumptions of particular perspectives, students must learn how to seek further information and analyze this information. Students should be encouraged to take and defend positions on historical and contemporary issues. If students are to become

responsible citizens, they must be able to define a problem or issue, judge relevant information, draw connections and conclusions, and solve problems. The ISAAC project has developed multi-modal, non-lecture-based activities which will enhance students' abilities to think analytically about complex issues, distinguish fact from opinion, and recognize bias and propaganda.

- o Historical and Geographic Context: In analyzing the issues of international security, students must be provided with a historical and geographic context. Such context-setting will contribute to the identification of key actors involved in a contemporary issue; some actions the actors might undertake and their likely consequences; the differing values, assumptions, and perceptions which seem to motivate the actors; and ways the issue affects or is affected by other issues.
- o Age-appropriateness: Topics within international security and conflict education are not appropriate for all levels. Teachers must determine what materials are appropriate for their own classes. Each of the ISAAC Project units is developed and tested for grade levels at which the content is appropriate and pre-requisite knowledge is met by students.
- o Values and Ethical Issues: The study of these topics inevitably raises issues of an ethical or value-related nature. In the project's materials, specific value positions have not been endorsed. Nevertheless, some would judge the decision even to teach these issues a value choice. What is crucial from the project's perspective is the context and process in which such issues are discussed. Teachers face the difficult task of encouraging the kind of free expression which is at the core of our democratic values while at the same time meeting the norms of sound educational practice, including political balance. The project encourages teachers embarking on the study of these issues to engage in a dialogue within the educational and larger community about the ethical and value questions raised in teaching these topics.
- o Other Features: Whenever possible, ISAAC curricula include interactive, student-centered activities (such as debates, simulations, role-plays, group discussions, dramatic presentations, and cooperative group projects); primary source materials; and visuals. Materials have a high degree of respect for teachers and students and set high aims for student outcomes.
- o Curriculum Testing and Review: In order to ensure that ISAAC Project curricula contain and emphasize these elements of sound education, the project submits its materials for rigorous pilot-testing by elementary and secondary teachers not directly involved in a unit's development and review by faculty members

at Stanford University. If an issue analyzed in a unit is particularly controversial, the review process is expanded to include educational leaders, scholars, and political leaders nationwide. Revisions of the units are based upon pilot-testing results and reviews.

It is the teacher's responsibility and privilege to use the curricula wisely and with sound educational goals in mind. Of course teachers know best their classrooms' dynamics and may adapt ISAAC materials as necessary; the project asks that these teachers keep in mind our project's educational philosophy. The ISAAC Project hopes that these materials will be useful in providing students experiences to learn and think about integral issues in the international security and conflict field. The project encourages comments from teachers who use the materials.